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THE SCULPTURED TOMBS OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY IN ROME

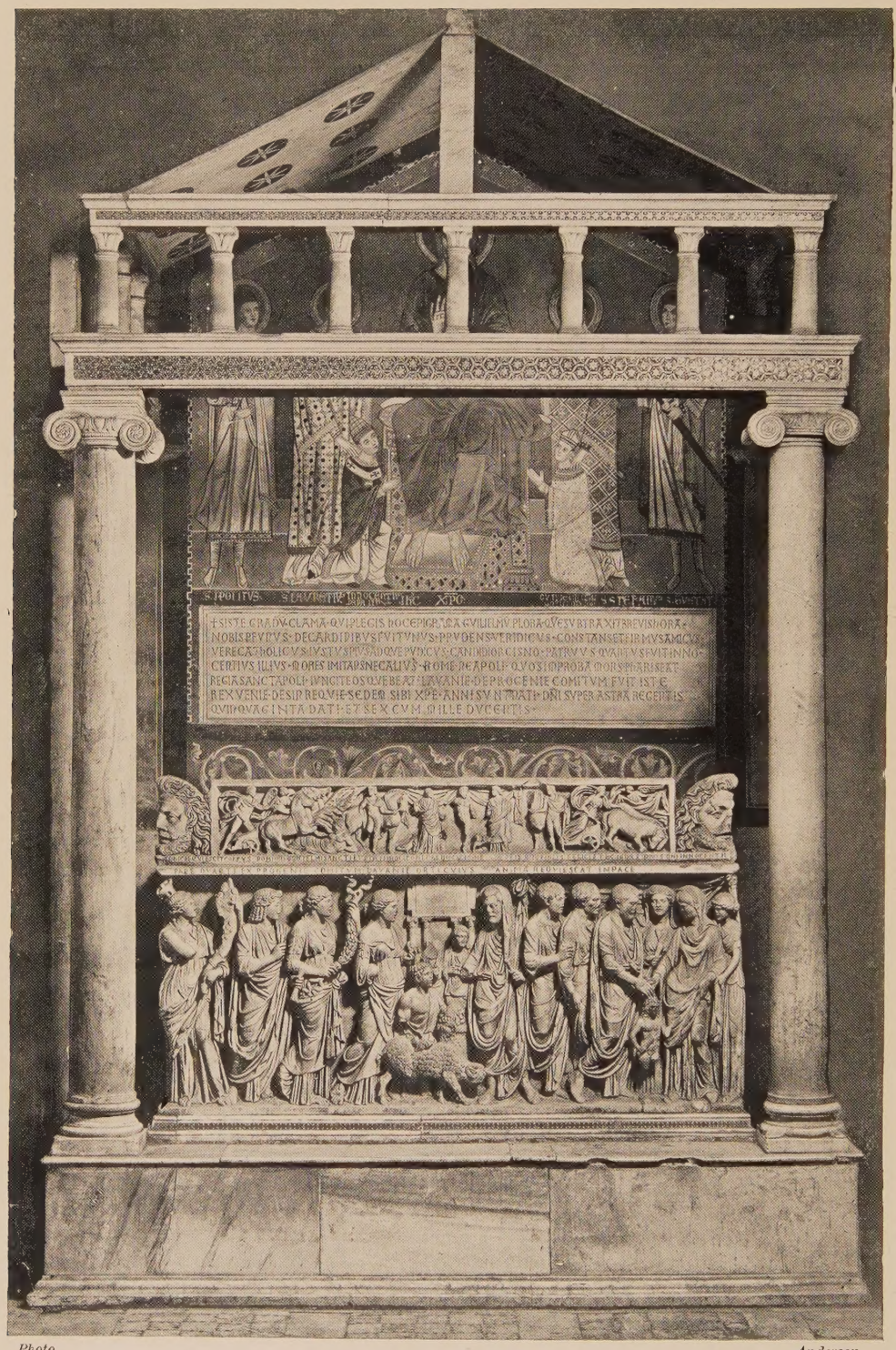

Photo *Anderson.*

GUGLIELMO FIESCHI (S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura).

Frontispiece.

RENASCENCE

THE SCULPTURED TOMBS OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY IN ROME

WITH CHAPTERS ON THE PREVIOUS CENTURIES FROM 1100

BY GERALD S. DAVIES, M.A.
MASTER OF CHARTERHOUSE

WITH 88 ILLUSTRATIONS FROM PHOTOGRAPHS

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1910

PREFACE

In placing this book before my readers, I have sought to meet a want which has often been felt. Hitherto no book dealing exclusively with this subject has been written in English, or, indeed, in any other language. But whereas notices of any kind referring to the Renascence tombs of Rome, except the best known, are in English writers few and far between—so few that it would be impossible to construct a continuous history from them—the labours of Italian and German critics have produced a mass of material of the highest value. This material, however, must be sought for in articles which have appeared in the Italian periodical *L' Arte*, in the German *Jahrbuch des Königlichen Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, and similar publications ; or, in a more permanent form, in A. Venturi's 'L' Arte Italiana' and Fritz Burger's 'Das Florentinisches Grabmal bis Michelangelo.' It would be impossible, without largely increasing the size of this book, to give in all cases my references to these sources of information. I can only acknowledge in a general form my indebtedness to them.

An acquaintance with the Renascence tombs of Rome extending over forty years does not justify me in hoping that I can have avoided some omissions or been guilty of

no slips. It is, indeed, that very acquaintance which warns me how impossible it is to entertain such a hope in handling a subject of such complexity. My readers will be indulgent in proportion to their own knowledge of the subject.

A few words are needed on the biographical notices which are attached to the descriptions of the tombs. In many cases, owing to the scantiness of our information, these can be at best little more than a record of benefices held. In the case of others who have filled a larger place in men's imagination, and who have left their mark on the history of their day, no doubt the picturesqueness and the dramatic effect of the record might have been greatly increased if the writer had been ready to give forth as history a good many details which, however generally accepted and however probable—as, for example, in the records of the Borgia—often stop short of actual proof. Under no circumstances could anything like completeness be aimed at in these brief biographical paragraphs. A glance at the list of books of reference in this volume will show the reader to what sources he must go if he desires fuller knowledge.

A word of special gratitude is due from me to Sir John W. Carrington for his help in correcting my proof-sheets.

GERALD S. DAVIES.

Master's Lodge,
Charterhouse, E.C.,
1910.

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PART I

RENASCENCE: THE SCULPTURED TOMBS OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY IN ROME

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

The Renascence tombs of the fifteenth century which survive in the churches of Rome are, from their historical interest, unequalled by those of any other town in Italy, and therefore in the world. It would not be equally true to claim for them the same position from the point of view of art. That position belongs beyond dispute to Florence. In the latter city such tombs as Donatello's Pope John XXIII., Bernardo Rossellino's Lionardo Bruni, Desiderio da Settignano's Carlo Marsuppini, Antonio Rossellino's Cardinal James of Portugal, and Mino da Fiesole's tombs in the Badia of Florence and at Fiesole itself, rank higher than any work of their century which Rome can show. It is true, too, that in other cities isolated examples may be named, such as Donatello's Cardinal Brancacci, and Benedetto da Maiano's Maria of Aragon, both at Naples, and Jacopo della Quercia's Ilaria da Carretto at Lucca, which stand upon the higher plane. There are

not many tombs in Rome which touch the level of the works which have just been mentioned. It is, indeed, because the Roman series combines a high level of Art, though not quite the highest, with a personal interest which becomes history itself, that we may claim for it a value which, upon the whole, has hardly yet been given to it—at any rate, by English observers or by English writers.

The cause is perhaps not far to seek. Apart from the fact that the study of sculpture is at all times more exacting and less alluring than that of painting, it is in this case made more laborious both to the student and to the amateur by the absence to a great extent of the artistic personality which helps to give charm to the Florentine masterpieces. Gregorovius wrote with truth some forty years ago that the authors of the greater number of the Renascence tombs of Rome remained without a name. Since that time very much has been done by the discovery of documents, and by the patient critical examination of the monuments themselves, to introduce some kind of order into the chaos. In this work the German and Italian critics have taken the chief part. To Steinmann and Schmarsow, to Fabriczy, to Burckhardt and Bode, to Gnoli, Venturi, and to many others, we owe the fact that to-day we can recognize the personality of some of the artists who carved the figures that lie sleeping upon the graves of the men who lived and walked with Nicolas V. and Sixtus IV. and Alexander Borgia. There is still much to be done and much that will be done, so that even before this book is in print fresh documents may have

been found which will upset some of its conclusions. But, when all shall have been done, complete elucidation must not be hoped for. The industry and research of to-day cannot replace the loss to our knowledge which has resulted from the violence, the negligence, and the natural decay of the past. In some cases the evidences which would have established the authorship of some given tomb were destroyed full four centuries ago—as, for example, when the splendid library of Latino Orsini, with its archives at S. Salvatore in Lauro, perished in the sack of Rome in 1529. The records of many another church, carelessly guarded, have perished by slower but not less certain process. Whatever hope, therefore, we may have of the discovery of documents to shed fresh light on the authorship of the monuments must unhappily be limited by our remembrance of these disasters.

But the student of sculpture during the Roman Renascence and in the centuries immediately preceding it is faced by a far greater difficulty than that which results from the loss of documents, or even from the absence of some Roman Vasari who might, while he beguiled us with much that was misleading, have yet given us much that was illuminating. The repeated destruction of many of the Roman basilicas and churches by violence or accident, by fire or earthquake, or by the even deadlier action of restoration and rebuilding, has not only removed from our ken a countless number of monuments of the greatest interest, but it has led in many instances to the replacing of the monuments which survived either with reckless carelessness or with pardonable confusion of mind. The

fragments, laid aside, perhaps, for many years, have been put together again with scant regard to their original positions. The very figure of Cardinal or Bishop which belongs to one tomb is found resting upon another. The statuettes of Virtues which so commonly surround the tombs of the last half of the fifteenth century have, under this process, not unfrequently found their way back to other niches than those for which they were carved. The angels who watch over a dead Nicolas in the crypt of St. Peter's may have been originally the guardians of the resting-place of an Orsini. The lesser members of the design—pilasters, cornices, architraves—have been transposed with even greater freedom. And herefrom results a confusion which no discovery of documents and no application of style-criticism can ever hope entirely to overcome. The fact that few of these monuments were originally carried out by one single master-hand, but were most often the work of a studio combination, lends in itself difficulty enough to the study; but when, in addition to this, it has to be remembered that one may, if the monument has suffered removal, be looking at a *réchauffé* by a clerk of the works, the problem in some instances can only be left as insoluble.

The churches of Rome which have suffered most from the causes named are unluckily those which should have contained for us the greatest number of memorials of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries. The Church of S. Giovanni in Laterano was destroyed by fire in 1308, and lay for some years in ruins. The fragmentary tombs which remain to us from before that date, such as Arnolfo's

figure of Riccardo Annibaldi and its relief in the cloisters, the Cardinal Clusiano, and others, are probably what the fire spared us, though the many subsequent restorations of the church may be responsible for further losses. Sta. Maria Maggiore was at the end of the fifteenth century remodelled by the removal of the side-chapels, the noble nave, with its priceless mosaics, happily escaping. The Basilica of S. Paolo fuori le Mura perished by fire in 1823. Sta. Sabina has been many times restored, and, indeed, this latter necessity in the case of churches which have endured some fifteen centuries was not to be avoided, however ungently the hand has been outheld to uplift the falling frame. Many of the churches of Rome did not come into existence till late in the fifteenth century in their present shape—for example, S. Salvatore, 1450; S. Giacomo degli Spagnuoli, 1450; SS. Apostoli and Sta. Maria del Popolo, 1477; S. Agostino, 1479; Sta. Maria della Pace, 1484; Sta. Maria di Monserrato, 1495; Sta. Maria dell' Anima, 1500; S. Andrea della Valle, 1591. Rich as some of these churches are in Renascence monuments, it would be idle to expect them to contain memorials of an earlier age.

But no example can be quoted in which the loss has been, from the point of view of our present subject, so deplorable as that of the Basilica of St. Peter's itself. When Julius II. gave commission to Bramante for the removal of the ancient basilica, with a view to its rebuilding, there is no doubt that the architect carried out the demolition with cruel disregard for the earlier treasures of art, and especially for the tombs with which the church

was stored. Its side-chapels must indeed have been almost choked by them, so numerous were they. These were torn from their places with reckless want of care. Some of them were at once thrown aside, to be lost sight of for ever. A few others were rescued by those who, as bearers of the same family name, perhaps, or as members of the same religious order, or for other reasons, held the dead man's memory in honour; and thus a certain number were installed in other churches, but often in a mutilated or incorrect form. The Eugenius IV. of S. Salvatore and the Pius II. of S. Andrea were both outcasts from St. Peter's. The residue were thrust into the crypt of St. Peter's—the Grotte Vaticane—but in so fragmentary a condition that in most cases merely the recumbent figure of the dead has been preserved. It is thus only that even the great Nicolas V. himself, the projector of the new St. Peter's, has come down to us. Michelangelo fiercely, but not too fiercely, denounced this recklessness of Bramante before Julius himself. The Pope has, indeed, often been held to blame for these vandalisms, and it is possible that he winced when he was listening to the fierce young Florentine. But the circumstances make it unlikely that at that stage Michelangelo was conducting an assault upon the Pope. Bramante had doubtless been left a free agent, with entire responsibility, and had used his freedom to an effect that must be for ever deplored. A walk through the Vatican crypt will assure the reader, with melancholy certainty, that the case, whether against Bramante alone or in higher company, has not been overstated.

And when one observes the gaps in the list of the great ones who are known to have found resting-places in the churches of Rome, and sees that to-day they are as those that 'have found no memorial,' one becomes aware that far more has been lost than has been kept. Naturally, too, in the struggle for survival, such as has been indicated, the tombs of the ecclesiastics, which largely outnumbered the others to begin with, would have a better chance of being preserved than those of the laymen. The supporter of the church would naturally be preferred before the city Prefect, the soldier, the lawyer, who might even have wielded sword or pen against the power of the Pope. And so it happens that the great majority of tombs which we see to-day are those of Popes, or Cardinals, or Bishops, or of those laymen who have served the Church in some capacity. Many offices, too, which would now be held by laymen were, in the centuries with which we have to deal, held by Bishops and by Cardinals. The Cardinals William Fieschi, Filippe d'Alençon, Vitelleschi (the grave of the latter is, however, at Corneto), Scarampo (more than a match for Piccinino and Sforza), and Forteguerra, were all in their day leaders of armies, and lived much of their lives in harness. Two of them, Scarampo and Forteguerra, were likewise Admirals. D'Estouteville (whose tomb in S. Agostino has vanished), to whom Sixtus IV. entrusted the remodelling of the streets of Rome, was nothing if not an ædile. The warden of the Castle of S. Angelo was nearly always an ecclesiastic, and the chief offices of State for peace or war, the governorship of provinces and fortresses, the administration of justice and finance, taxes,

public works, police, were all in ecclesiastical hands. Two things followed from this: first, that the wealth which could command the costly tomb was most often in the hands of Cardinal or Bishop; and, secondly, that it was these also who had rendered conspicuous services in the large majority of cases, rather than laymen. It was, too, no uncommon thing to acknowledge the services of a layman by turning him into a Churchman, with the further reward of an income from benefices. It was thus that the Spaniard Giovanni de Castro, who, in the days of Pius II., discovered the rich sulphur mines of Tolfa, rose later to the purple, and passed thence to the tomb in the Popolo. Thus, too, the Greek physician Podocatharo died a Bishop and a Cardinal. It was, indeed, in the latter half of the fifteenth century in Rome difficult to be eminent in any direction (save that of art, and perhaps of letters) without either being an ecclesiastic or presently becoming one.[1] And it is this fact which gives to the Renascence tombs of Rome a certain unavoidable monotony of treatment. The sculptor was to place upon the tomb the sleeping figure of Pope, or Cardinal, or Bishop, watched over by the Virgin and Child, and set about with the Virtues, who were to adorn in death, as they should have adorned in life, the dead man's presence. Where, therefore, any tomb stands out in excellence above its fellows, it does so by the beauty of its treatment, by the exquisite craftsmanship of its handling, by the inspiration which

[1] It will be remembered that Clement VII. desired Michelangelo to take orders, and to become the salaried retainer of the Papal Court.

lives in the gentle eyes of the Madonna—in short, by that indefinite charm which separates the work of the great artist from the work of the second-rate; but hardly ever in any striking departure from the accepted type of tomb, nor by any effect of originality which breaks away from the placid monotony of the sleeping figure in its marble recess. And, indeed, when, in the sixteenth century, the sculptors of the later Renascence sought to escape from this ideal—perfect, perhaps, in the hands of the perfect artist, peaceful and harmless in the hands of the less perfect, and dull and lifeless in the hands of the inferior—into greater originality and more striking variety, they gave instant proof that, after all, it is the peaceful sleep of death, monotonous though beautiful, which sends its truest, sweetest message to us from the tombs of the bygone dead. Andrea Sansovino was, doubtless, a more capable and brilliant sculptor than most of those who carved the effigies of the Roman dead; yet who can bring himself to spend much time over the great monument of Ascanio Sforza in the Popolo Church—costly, sumptuous, abounding in new motive, but restless and uneasy (the Cardinal lies awake and sideways, his hands supporting his aching head, life's fitful fever still upon him) —while a few chapels off he may linger long over the sweet, simple, sleeping figure of the Roman lawyer, Marco Albertoni, which an artist whose identity is still in some doubt had placed there twenty years earlier?

But when we have reckoned up every drawback which may be encountered by him who seeks to make a study of the Renascence tombs of Rome—drawbacks positive and

inherent in the nature and quality of our available material, and drawbacks negative resulting from the absence of so many links in the chain of our evidence, both as regards the personal and the technical details of our subject —yet when all has been duly reckoned, we are in possession of a field of historical and artistic interest which, as was said at the beginning of this chapter, has been strangely undervalued. It has, indeed, been said that a good history might be written from tombs alone. That may be a claim too boldly made, yet it comes nearer to being true in the case of this Roman series of tombs than in that of any other. They touch the history and the culture, the art and the letters, the virtues and the shortcomings, of their day and city at every point. 'Strange,' said Charles V. of Spain, when he descended into the narrow crypt at Granada where Ferdinand and Isabella lie, 'that so small a space should contain so much greatness.' Strange, one may say, that one single city should contain the dust of so many whose names, if they could be once and for all forgotten, would leave the history of medieval and modern Europe a chaos and a blank.

CHAPTER II

SCULPTURE IN THE TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH CENTURIES IN ROME—THE COSMATESQUE MASTERS

The twelfth century in Italy was one of artistic activity throughout the length and breadth of the land. The centuries which had preceded A.D. 1000 in Rome had been amongst the most dark and silent which the city had ever known. It is customary to attribute the deep lethargy of the tenth century to the paralysis produced by a certain fearful looking for that predicted end of all things, the millennium. And though this, as a cause, is probably a good deal overvalued, it is certain that the century which followed, from 1000 to 1100 A.D., was one of slow recovery and of increased activity towards its close. On Rome, indeed, as the century drew to its end, there fell the blow whose equal, perhaps, has never been felt in all the successive tragedies which have befallen her, when Robert Guiscard, in aid of Gregory VII., laid the inhabited quarter of Rome throughout the Campus Martius in ashes. But the twelfth century carried forward the activity which had been checked by that disaster. It was an age throughout Italy of rebuilding, restoring, decorating. The number of churches which were refounded throughout Italy was very great, and though the miseries

of Rome were far from ended, and two centuries full of sorrow from civil and religious strife awaited her, they were destined to leave records behind them not wholly unworthy of her name.

Even in those sad centuries of which we have spoken, when no name of a great artist, save in the great mosaics of the churches, was worthy to be remembered, the art of sculpture, though debased and barbarized, never entirely lost its hold upon the old traditions, and was still practised by a large body of Roman *marmorarii*—marble-cutters or sculptors, for the dividing-line was always narrow—who even in those dark days bridged over, as it were, the perilous gap which lay between the great art of ancient Rome and that of future Italy. For even when art is at its darkest the dead still call for tombs, and the living do not fail to provide such honour for their loved ones as may be shrouded in a hearse. The demand for tombs is permanent. We cannot declare in what sort the Roman *marmorarii* satisfied it in these ages, with such strange completeness have the memorials of the dead been swept away ; but there remains ample evidence of the kind of work that was being done in the fragments of ciboria, crosses, choir-screens, wells, which, often enough rescued from beneath the soil, are to be seen in Sta. Maria in Trastevere, Sta. Sabina, Araceli, Sta. Prassede,[1] and many other

[1] In Sta. Prassede, in the little chapel of S. Zenone (Paschal I., 817-824), is a fine base of a column. In Sta. Sabina, left wall, are many fine fragments of the choir-screen (Eugenius II., 824-827) ; and in Sta. Maria in Trastevere portico a collection of similar fragments (Gregory IV., 827-843). In the Lateran cloister a fragment, perhaps belonging to Sergius II. (844-847), with a well-head—eighth or ninth

churches, as well as in the Christian Museum of the Lateran and in the Forum itself. They vary, naturally, in merit of design and skill of execution, from the rudest, yet never unloving, work of the chisel to that which approaches the more sensitive art of the Byzantine workmen, to whom some of them may be due. The human figure is for the most part avoided, symbol taking its place for the expression of the great facts of our religion. Birds and animals are commoner, uncouth, and conventional, yet by no means without a rude decorative sense. The two peacocks—one of the oldest of Christian symbols—drink from the vase; birds peck at the blood of the precious vine; palm-leaves or olive-branches alternate with crosses or rosettes; and above all the interlaced braided guilloche patterns are everywhere in evidence. It is child-like yet sincere art, uttered with even more childish simplicity than generally belongs to the children in art. For these particular children were all trying to imitate what had been left to them from a very highly developed age, whose relics were all around them, and they did it with a rudeness as naive and primitive as if they had been setting forth upon a new art. Yet it is to the existence of these workmen, and that in considerable numbers, that we owe the continuity of the sculptor's craft in Rome.

When, then, the twelfth century made its demand for men who were bred and born with the chisel in their hands—the traditional *marmorarii*—it found a fairly ample supply; and it was at this period that there grew out

century. At S. Clemente the door leading from the street to the atrium is ninth century.

of this class of marble-cutters the well-known school of craftsmen to which the name of 'Cosmatesque' is, by common but illogical consent, applied; for the school which lasted approximately for the two centuries from 1100 to 1300 is thus made to take its name merely from one or two members of one particular family only, who, in perhaps the last generation but one, bore the Christian name of Cosmas. This name, as covering the art of many craftsmen of different families, some of whose work was done a full century before the days of either Cosmas, is curiously inaccurate. The name is now applied to all who in those two centuries employed the style in which white marble is used with inlays or veneers of coloured stone, porphyry, serpentines, and the many marbles of which Rome was a storehouse, and in some cases with the addition of glass mosaics,[1] set in delicate patterns, and of gold, the whole being arranged in geometric designs within circles and squares, bounded by architectural marble settings. The style required flat spaces for its fit expression, and is never better, therefore, than when it is found in the fine pavements which survive in such churches as Sta. Maria in Trastevere, S. Crisogono, Araceli, Sta. Sabina, S. Alessio, S. Giovanni in Laterano, though naturally in the course of from 600 to 800 years few have escaped the processes of restoration. In other works, such as the pulpits and tabernacles and episcopal thrones, where sculpture has to be united

[1] The use of glass, however, in the work of the Cosmati craftsmen does not appear in any profusion till the thirteenth century, though sparingly employed in the middle of the twelfth century.

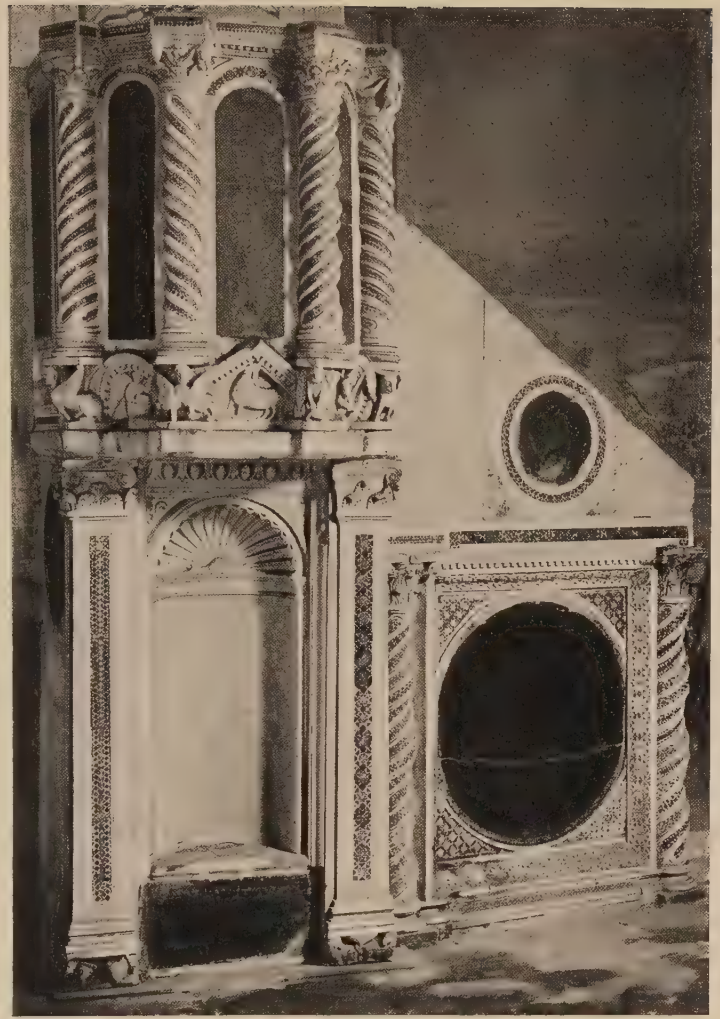


Photo *Anderson.*

FIG. 1.—AMBO (S. CESAREO).

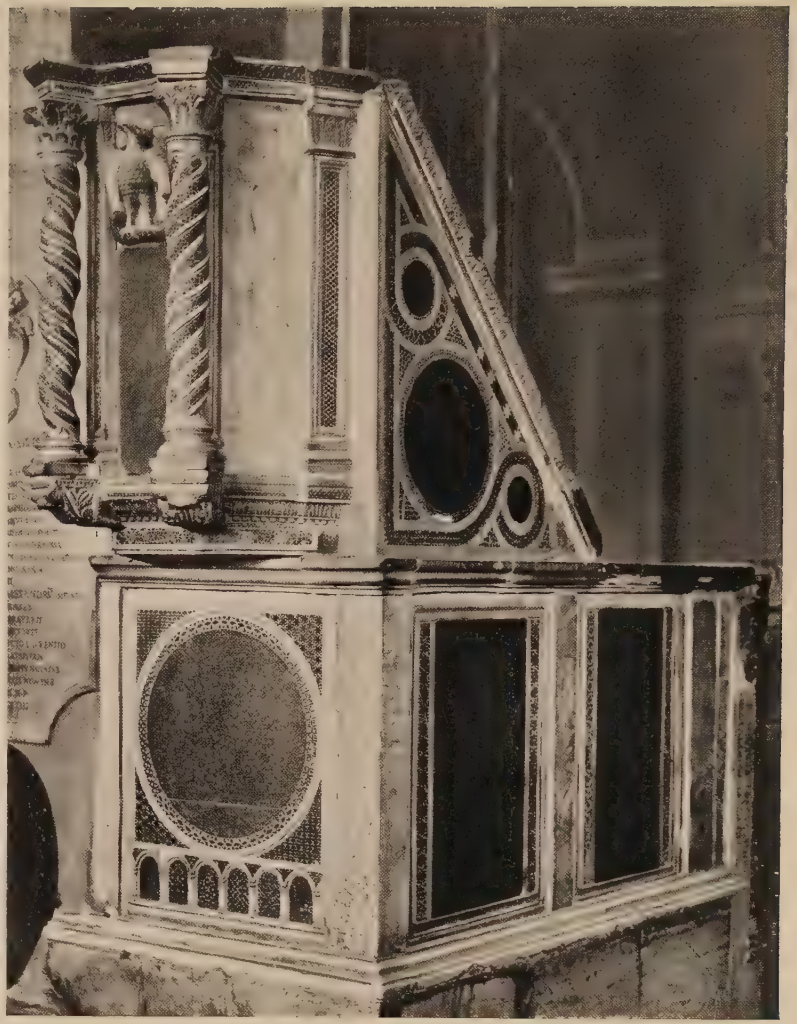


Photo *Alinari.*

FIG. 2.—AMBO (ARACELI).

To face page 14.

with this stone and glass mosaic, the architectural mouldings are often expressively carved, the foliage of capital and cornice tenderly felt, and a certain sympathy with the material almost always in evidence. The sense of proportion is seldom at fault, and the sense of colour is present in the highest degree. The result is generally pleasing — often quite delightful — but until the later period of the school's existence there is little disposition to attempt the more difficult achievements of sculpture, and when the attempt is made the success is often small. The success, indeed, was, in the case of the Roman masters of the Cosmatesque, far less than that which was achieved by their contemporaries in Southern Italy, some of whom produced work worthy of the forerunners of Nicolas of Apulia. The craft of the Roman masters of the twelfth century remained more purely decorative, employing animal and natural forms but sparingly, and the human form still more rarely. Indeed, the use of the human form as an expression of sentiment was no part of the aim—nor did it form any part of the equipment—of these *marmorarii* in Rome. It is an indication of this deficiency, quite as much as of the leaning towards the classical antique, that the man who desired to lie in a tomb adorned with figure sculpture was apt to satisfy his desire through an ancient sarcophagus. Thus the Cardinal William Fieschi ([1]† 1256), he who had led the armies of his uncle, Innocent IV., against Manfred in Apulia, and met defeat at Foggia, lies in S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura in a sarco-

[1] The dagger (†) is used throughout this book to indicate the date of death.

phagus in which Juno Pronuba joins the hands of bride and bridegroom, while Hymen shakes the torch. More important still is the tomb of the Savelli family, in the right transept of the Araceli, where a Cosmatesque tabernacle, with an exquisite Madonna in the style, and perhaps from the hand, of Arnolfo di Cambio, rests on an antique sarcophagus, where half-nude forms dance to the sound of the pipe. During the twelfth century in Rome we do not meet, amongst the few tombs which survive to us, the familiar motive of the sleeping figure on the sarcophagus. Halfway through the thirteenth century we find it in the tomb of the Cardinal Bernardo Caracciolo († 1255) in the Lateran. Here the figure is dully and stolidly Roman—the merest stonecutter's achievement—before the art had once more taken inspiration from the coming of the Tuscan Arnolfo di Cambio. His tomb in the Lateran of the great Cardinal Riccardo Annibaldi († 1476),[1] the Guelf friend and supporter of Charles of Anjou, was dispersed in the restorations of 1650, but the recumbent figure (on the left side of the nave, behind the organ) is still to be seen. In the greater vitality of its handling and the more sympathetic feeling of personality it marks a new departure. Through this and through the other works in Rome of this great follower of Niccolo Pisano—namely, the ciboria of S. Paolo fuori le Mura, and Sta. Cecilia, and the lost 'Nativity' of Sta. Maria

[1] The date on the inscription, which, however, is not contemporary is 1474; but a document of 1476, which speaks of Annibaldi as lately dead, seems to make the later date more probable. It refers to the filling of the office of Archpriest vacated by his death.

Photo *Moscioni.*

FIG. 3.—LATINO FRANGIPANE (MINERVA).

FIG. 4.—STEFANO DEI SURDI (STA. BALBINA).

To face page 16.

Maggiore [1]—an influence was brought into the art of the later Cosmatesque masters of Rome, which bore fruit in several works of a far higher imaginative power and far more sensitive execution. The tomb in Araceli of Honorius IV. († 1288), now united with that of his mother, Vana Aldobrandeschi, of which the former was once in St. Peter's, shows in the sleeping figure of the Pope, though not a work of the highest achievement, an individuality which marks a great step. Still more in the four tombs which remain to us in Rome from the hands of Giovanni, son of Cosmas, we find the rich decorative features of the Cosmati art, combined with the same Tuscan tenderness and seeking-after expression through the beauty of the human form on which Arnolfo, in his tomb of Cardinal Braye († 1282) at Orvieto, had set his seal. Giovanni Cosmati's tombs in Rome are Bishop Guglielmo Durando († 1296), in the Minerva; Cardinal Gonsalvo Rodriguez († 1299), in Sta. Maria Maggiore; Cardinal Matteo Acquasparta († 1302), in Araceli; and Stefano Surdi († 1294; the tomb is of 1303), in Sta. Balbina. Of these, the last-named retains only the sarcophagus and base, with the recumbent figure, the canopy and other portions having disappeared, probably when the tomb was removed to its present position. But the other three tombs, though much restored (especially the first two), preserve their original form. The general design is the same in each case. On a sarcophagus whose lower portion is adorned with shields holding the armorial bear-

[1] Fragments of this work are to be seen in the chapel of Sixtus V. in Sta. Maria Maggiore.

MAGDALEN COLLEGE LIBRARY

ings of the dead, set at intervals in beautiful Cosmati glass mosaic, lies the sleeping figure, the arms folded across the body. The drapery, cut flat and shallow in an arrangement of folds practically identical in all three monuments, droops over the upper portion of the sarcophagus. At each end of the recess in which the sleeping figure lies stands an angel upholding the ends of a curtain. But whereas in the typical tomb by Arnolfo of Cardinal Braye (followed in the Benedict XI. of Perugia at a later date) the angels are drawing aside a tent-like curtain which stretches across the recess, in these tombs by Giovanni Cosmati the curtain follows the square of the recess, and merely forms a background to the figure. Above the figure, in the great space below the cusps of the canopy, a glass mosaic of the Virgin and Child (in the Acquasparta tomb this has been replaced by fresco) keeps guard over the sleeper, and gives to the whole a richness of colour which, combined with the use of mosaic in the other portion of the tomb, produces an effect whose want is often felt in the colder tombs of the following centuries.

From the works actually signed and occasionally dated by the Cosmatesque masters of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries we are able to establish, not in all cases with unquestionable certainty, the relationships of a few of the families which supplied the chief artists who worked in Rome in this style. The earliest is one Maestro Paolo (Magister Paulus), whose sons and grandsons were active for some seventy years, from about 1110. This Paulus did the pavement in the cathedral at Ferentino, while his four sons—John, Peter, Angelo, and Sasso—did

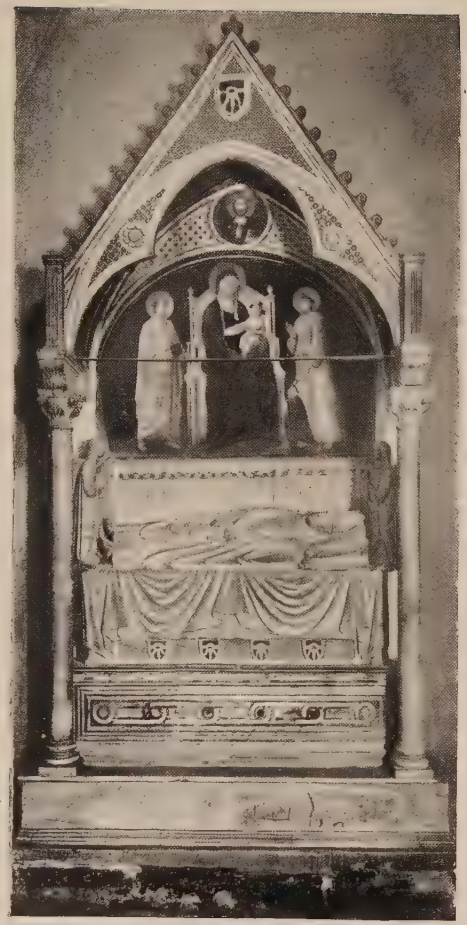


Photo *Anderson.*

FIG. 5.—MATTEO D'ACQUASPARTA (ARACELI).

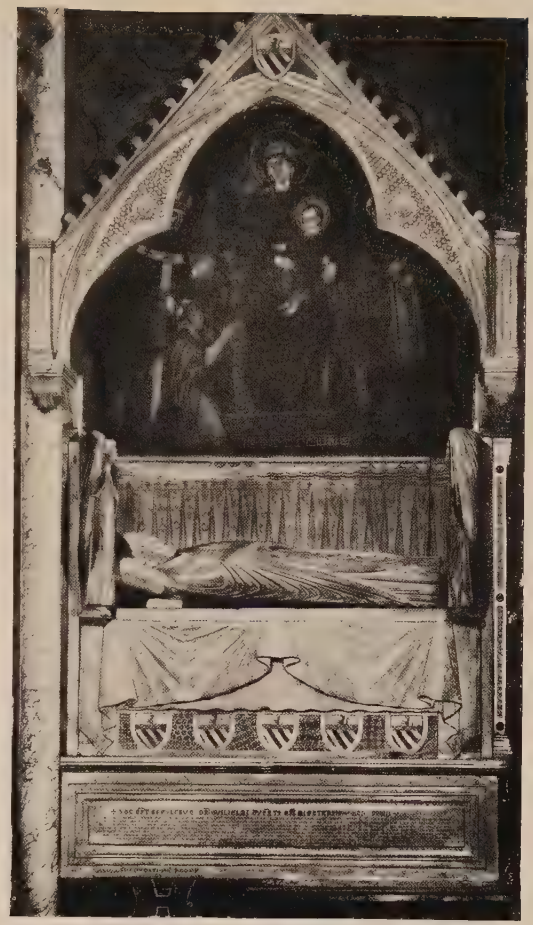


Photo *Alinari.*

FIG. 6.—GUGLIELMO DURANTE (MINERVA).

Photo *Alinari.*

FIG. 7.—GONSALVO RODRIGUEZ (STA. MARIA MAGGIORE).

To face page 18.

the tabernacle of S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura, the ciboria of SS. Cosmo e Damiano and of S. Marco, while that of Sta. Croce in Jerusalemme (1154) is by the same masters without Peter. The son of Angelo (grandson of Paolo), Nicolà di Angelo, worked in the ancient portico of S. Giovanni in Laterano, and the crypt of S. Bartolomeo in Isola. The same Nicolà, with Petro Basalletto, did the paschal candlestick (1170-1180) which is preserved in S. Paolo fuori le Mura, a work noticeable for its more liberal useof the human figures without mosaic.

This same Petrus Vassallettus,[1] whose greater son bore the same name, did work in the basilica at Segni in 1186. The name, whether of father or son, is found signed on the Bishop's throne and on the candlestick at Anagni, on the portal of Sta. Pudenziana, on the fragment of a lion in the portico of SS. Apostoli, and on a tabernacle at Viterbo. But the work which places the name highest on the roll of artists is the cloister of S. Giovanni in Laterano, probably by Petrus Vassallettus the son[2]—a work so beautiful as to constitute a reputation in itself. The cloister of S. Paolo fuori le Mura (finished in 1241) also bears the signature 'Petrus Magister me fecit,' while yet a third cloister at Sassovivo, near Foligno, is from 'Magistro Petro de Maria Romano.'

Still more interesting to the English reader is the name of Oderisi (Odericus), who, with his son, Pietro Oderisi, was summoned in the reign of Henry III. of England to

[1] The name is also carved as 'Vasaletus,' 'Vasalectus,' 'Bassalectus,' 'Bassaletus,' on various works signed by the master.

[2] The tomb of Hadrian V. († 1277) at Viterbo, assigned by Vasari to Vassalletto, is more probably by Arnolfo di Cambio.

Westminster, where in 1268 the father Odericus wrought the superb pavement of the presbytery, while in 1269 the son, Petrus Oderici ('Romanus Civis Homo'), completed and signed the tomb of Edward the Confessor. For the former work Richard de Ware, Abbot of Westminster, brought the porphyry and divers jaspers and marbles of Thasos from Rome.[1] The tomb of Henry III. himself, also made by the order of Richard de Ware, is of Cosmati work, and so, too, the unknown tomb thought to be that of a son of Henry III. Oderisi made the tomb of Clement IV. († 1271) in the Church of S. Francesco at Viterbo, and it is more than probable that the presence of himself and his son at Westminster in 1268-1269 was due to the recommendation of that very Pope, to whom the saintly Henry would be likely to have applied before undertaking his great task. Another son of Oderisi, Stefano, is known to us by name, though the only recorded works by him in Rome—in S. Niccolò dei Prefetti—perished with the church.

Another family which produced noteworthy work was that of Rainerius, or Ranuccius, son of Johannes, a native of Perugia, though his sons claimed rank as citizens of Rome. At S. Silvestro in Capite, now the church of the English Catholics in Rome, is found on a window an inscription, 'Ego Rainerius cum filiis meis Nicolaus et Petrus incipimus et complevimus,' and on the only portion of the ciborium in the interior which is ancient an inscription of 1166 gives the name of Giovanni, son

[1] See Lethaby, 'The Craftsmen of Westminster Abbey,' p. 310, who says that the Confessor's tomb was originally decorated with blue and gold glass mosaic.

of Guittone, who in his turn was son of the Nicolaus aforesaid. Another Guittone (or Guido) was brother of Nicolaus. Here, then, we have four generations of Cosmatesque craftsmen.

I have left to the last the consideration of the great family one of whose later members, Cosmas, was destined to give his name to the entire tribe of workers for two centuries. The founder of this family, Lorenzo (Laurentius), was a little later than Ranuccius, and is first heard of about 1150. This Laurentius, with his son Jacobus, signed his name on the right of the principal portal of Sta. Maria at Falleri, and on an architrave in the Sacro Speco of Subiaco. In Rome the same two names are found on the tabernacle of SS. Apostoli and on the beautiful ambo of Araceli. The son's name occurs alone on the portal of Sta. Saba. And this same Giacomo (Jacobus) did the right-hand portal of the cathedral at Cività Castellana, his father doing the middle portal. Jacobus was the father of Cosmas, and the two presently worked together at Cività Castellana in 1210, and on the portal of S. Tommaso in Formis in Rome. At this point occurs a slight uncertainty. Cosmas, son of Jacobus, seems to have been the father of Lucas, and Jacobus fourth in descent from Laurentius ; but it is believed that there was another Cosmas, nephew of the older Cosmas, who did the pavement at Anagni, and who was father of Deodato and Giovanni. Of these two, the name of Deodato is signed on a fragment in S. Giovanni in Laterano, on the screen at Cività Castellana with Luca, in S. Pietro at Tivoli, and on the tabernacle of Sta. Maria in Cosmedin ; while Giovanni is that Giovanni Cosmati whose four tombs in Rome have already been described.

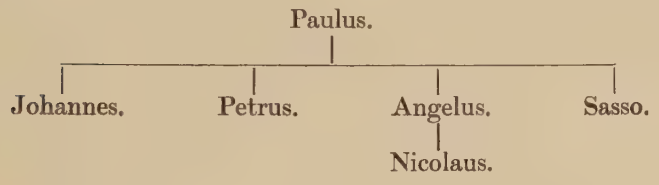
The names of a few more masters are also known to us, such as Drudus de Trevio, whose signature is found on a lavabo now in the Museo delle Terme, and again at Sta. Francesca Romana and at Ferentino, and Fra da Pascale, who in 1286 wrought the candlestick in Sta. Maria in Cosmedin. There were two craftsmen, again, of the name of Andrea, father and son, one of whom, 'Magister Romanus,' was associated at Alba Fucensis with Giovanni, son of Guittone.

In the above list reference has been made only to works bearing the signatures of individual masters, with the exception of the Acquasparta monument, which is unsigned. But there are numerous works of the Cosmatesque school—ambones, Bishops' thrones, candlesticks, columns, altars,[1] and fragments—to which no name can with certainty be attached. These are often of great beauty and interest, presenting degrees of skill and handling, though no very great variation in design and type. They are probably not a twentieth part of the wealth of such works which Rome had once to show, but what we have is enough to prove that the work of the Cosmatesque school, which for those two centuries dominated the art of Rome, was, in spite of its limitations, not unworthy of the great city.

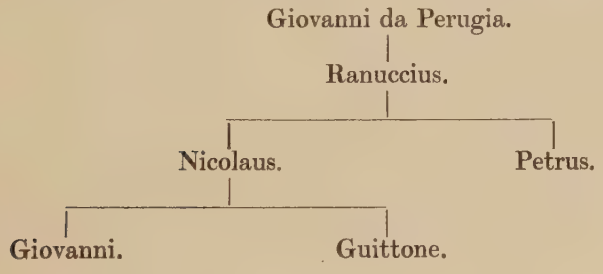
[1] The altar of S. Cesareo is especially fine. Cosmatesque work is to be found, in addition to the churches already mentioned, in S Lorenzo fuori le Mura (ambo and throne), SS. Nereo ed Achilleo (ambo, four candlesticks, Bishop's seat, pavement), S. Giorgio in Velabro, Sta. Balbina (throne), S. Clemente, Sta. Agnese, S. Antonio (portal), Sta. Maria in Trastevere, Sta. Cecilia (altar).

TABLE OF SOME OF THE FAMILIES WHICH PRODUCED WORKERS IN THE COSMATESQUE STYLE.

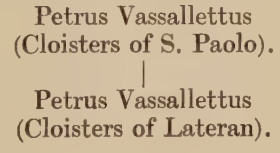
(*a*) *Family of Magister Paulus* (*circa* 1110-1180).



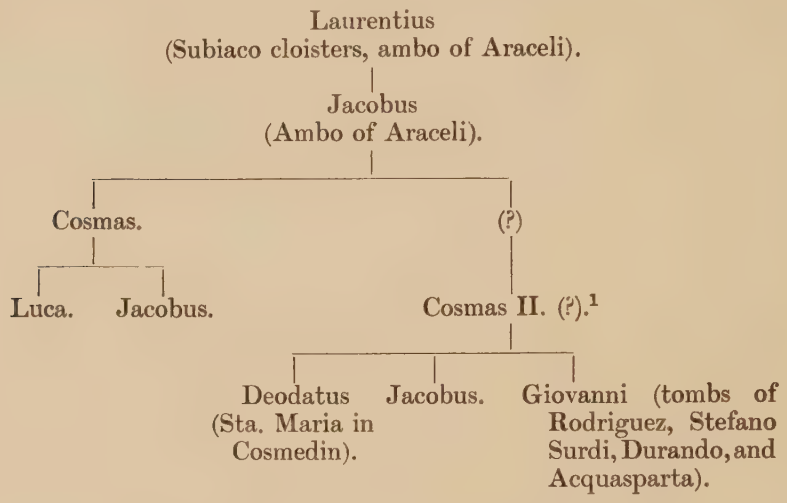
(*b*) *Family of Ranuccius, or Rainerius* (*circa* 1135-1209).



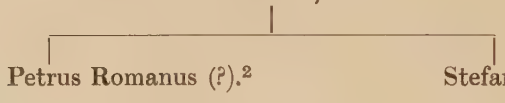
(*c*) *Family of Vassallettus, or Bassalectus, etc.* (*circa* 1220-1276).



(*d*) *Family of Laurentius* (*circa* 1150-1332), *whose later members gave their name to the style.*



(*e*) *Family of Odericus* (*circa* 1240-1290).



(*f*) *Other Isolated Names.*

Nicolas, nephew of Magister Paulus.
Andrea Marmorarius (Alba Fucensis) and his son of the same name.
Drudus de Trevio (lavabo in Museo delle Terme).
Fra da Pascale (candlestick in Sta. Maria in Cosmedin).

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[1] The relationships of the later branches of this family are uncertain.

[2] It is doubtful if Petrus Romanus is the son of Odericus. He worked at Westminster Abbey.

CHAPTER III

ARNOLFO DI CAMBIO

Before we pass from the sculptors of the thirteenth century in Rome, we must return to say a few words more directly with reference to Arnolfo di Colle di Val d' Elsa, known as Arnolfo di Cambio, whose work in Rome marks a distinct epoch in the art of the city. One of the great trio—Niccolà d' Apulia (called Pisano), his son, Giovanni Pisano, and Arnolfo himself—this great artist worked with the other two at the pulpit of Siena (1266), and at the fountain of Perugia; but before he had set hand upon the latter of these tasks he had been called to Rome to the service of Charles of Anjou, as we learn from a letter sent by Charles on September 10, 1277, to Fra Bevignate of Perugia. The earliest of Arnolfo's works which bears a date in Rome appears to be the effigy of Cardinal Riccardo Annibaldi († 1276), already mentioned. The statue of Charles himself, which was set up by the people of Rome in honour of their senator upon the Capitol at a date unascertained, is now accepted by many writers as a work from the chisel of Arnolfo.[1] The grim, rigid figure of the merciless, cold-blooded extirpator of

[1] It is now badly placed on the stairs of the Palazzo dei Conservatori (Capitol Museum).

the Hohenstaufens has in it, in spite of a certain deliberate archaism, an impressive force and conviction which make the statue, once seen, impossible to forget. We are looking here on the very features of the man—snakelike, impassive, but not unkingly—who slew Conradin, and caused the boy Galiotto, by deliberate sentence, to be strangled on the knees of his father, Galvano Lancia. One can name no sculptor working in Rome at this day, save Arnolfo himself, who could have produced a figure at once so expressive of the individual and yet so impersonal as an expression of power. I would draw special attention to a point, amounting to a mannerism, which I have not seen noticed in Arnolfo's art: I mean the tendency to carve the sides of the face, temple, cheekbone, cheeks, in one single plane, and that almost at the right angle to the surface of the face itself. The result is a peculiar squareness, which is found continually in the works of the master, and may be seen again in the statues in the ciboria of S. Paolo fuori le Mura and Sta. Cecilia.

The figure of Honorius IV. († 1288) is stated by Vasari, who calls it, in obvious error, Honorius III. († 1227), to be from the hand of Arnolfo, and there is no reason to doubt the attribution. This figure formed part of the tomb of the Pope in St. Peter's, one of those which was ill-handled by Bramante. Alexander Farnese (Paul III.; † 1534), caused the recumbent figure to be placed above the sarcophagus in Araceli, in which rest the bones of Vana Aldobrandeschi, mother of Honorius, whose tomb, a good piece of Cosmati work, had been placed there by Honorius himself. Opposite to this tomb is that other, of

Photo *Alinari.*

FIG. 8.—HONORIUS IV. (ARACELI).

Photo *Alinari.*

FIG. 9.—SAVELLI FAMILY (ARACELI).

To face page 26.

slightly earlier date, where Luca Savelli, Senator of Rome, lies buried, probably in the antique sarcophagus, while in the pavement below rest others of the Savelli family. This sarcophagus has above it a small shrine, with rich Cosmati mosaic, showing the arms of the Savelli. The shrine, which is a work of no small beauty, may be from the design of Arnolfo himself; but, in any case, I believe the exquisite little Madonna and Child in the niche of the upper part of the tabernacle to be from the great artist's own hand. But it is in the tabernacle of S. Paolo fuori le Mura, wrought by Arnolfo, with the aid of his *socius* Petrus (perhaps Pietro Cavallini), for the Abbot Bartolommeo in 1285, two years or so after the tomb of Cardinal Braye († 1283) of Orvieto, that we see the art of Arnolfo in Rome at its highest level. Time and violence, which have swept away so much from us, have upon the whole been singularly merciful to the work of Arnolfo. The tabernacle of S. Paolo escaped the fire of 1823. His other great work, the tabernacle of Sta. Cecilia († 1293), has been equally fortunate, though neither has escaped the garish hand of the redecorator in our own age.

In the figures and reliefs of these two tabernacles, but especially in those of S. Paolo, Arnolfo shows the essential qualities of his art, in which, more flexible, more tender, perhaps more sensuous, than the stately and majestic Niccolà, his master, he supplies that essentially Tuscan element whose absence is so much felt in the art which is of purely Roman origin. In the homely and kindly figure of the monk, saint, or Abbot (perhaps a portrait of Bartolommeo), and in the square, resolute figure of Barnabas or

Timotheus, who stands in the pose of a classical Roman, once more evidently a portrait, at S. Paolo; in the noble girlish figure of Sta. Cecilia, crowned with roses, at Sta. Cecilia; but, above all, in the low relief figure of Eve in the Temptation of the soffits of S. Paolo—a creation which in its simple tenderness and womanly purity seems to project, as it were, by the mere power of sympathy, this thirteenth-century master forward through all the centuries of art—in these we have that blending of realism in its highest form with idealism in its most humanly sympathetic form, which alone moves and is a power in art from whatever century it springs. For the realism which is never absent from the best Tuscan art is not the realism of the mere outward facts of appearance—the dull, the gross, the exciting, the voluptuous in plain presentment—but always the outward facts as they are beautified, endeared to us, realized to us, by bringing them into touch with our better, not our baser, sympathies. And this is absolutely 'realism,' admitting as little of parody and sham sentiment as the most appalling realities of the latest French salon. The term deserves to be rescued from the single groove into which it has been wrenched. There is other realism than that which pictures to us with living reality the mere physical facts of our humanity: there is the realism which sees the bearing of the facts in better proportion to the higher side of humanity. The unerring instinct of an Arnolfo, even if it fell far short of the technical achievements of later schools of art, has yet always that to give us. He gave it to Roman art in the work which he left behind there. It was the fault

of Roman circumstances—perhaps, too, of the Roman character—that his unconscious gospel of art bore no further fruit than that which we have seen in the improved efforts of Giovanni, son of Cosmas, and that Rome remained without a school of native artists who could move, as the Tuscans have moved, mankind.

To this chapter most fitly belongs the consideration of the tomb of Benedetto Gaetani (Pope Boniface VIII.; † 1303), one whose reign of eight years summed up in itself the tragedies of many lifetimes. The successor of the poor saintly, helpless hermit Pietro Murrone (Celestine V.), he became, almost perforce, his gaoler—men even said his poisoner. The deadly foe of the Colonna, it was he who razed their stronghold, Palestrina, to the very ground, and actually, and not in a figure, sowed it with salt. To him, the story went, the Franciscan Guido da Montefeltro—once leader of armies, now turned monk—had given that counsel in dealing with his enemies: 'Lunga promessa con l' attender corto'[1] (Long promise, scant performance)—for which Dante places him in the Inferno. He, too, was the Pope to whose jubilee in 1300 the poet himself came with a countless host of other pilgrims. The Florentine poet, indeed, places Boniface, the enemy of Florence, in the same doom as his counsellor Guido. His interviews, therefore, with this last great Pope of the fast-passing Middle Ages would seem to have left no favourable impression on Dante. He saw the Pope that year of jubilee in the height of his glory and success. Three years later he might have seen him in his native

[1] Dante, 'Inferno,' XXVIII.

town of Anagni, the stronghold of the Gaetani, bound, insulted, threatened with, and scarcely saved from, immediate death—the prisoner of the Conte, the Colonna, and the Sciarra, united under the French banner of King Philip IV. Before the year was out he was saved from these enemies, only to die the virtual prisoner of the Orsini in the Vatican, October 11, 1303. Strange stories were told about his death. He was raving mad, they said, and tore his flesh, beating his head against the wall, and dying at last in exhaustion. The spectre of poor Pietro Murrone was ever, they said, beside his bed. There was no need for these additions to the tragedy of the life. He was an old man of eighty-six, and he was worn out by life and sorrow, and he died, so it would seem, as other old men die; for when, 300 years later, in 1605, the sealed sarcophagus, now in the crypt, was opened, there were no signs of all this violence upon the quiet and restful features.

Boniface died, as we have seen, in 1303; but there is good reason to think that the tomb, of which the sarcophagus and sleeping figure[1] alone remain, was made in his lifetime, perhaps in that very year of jubilee, 1300, and, moreover, that Arnolfo di Cambio was its author. For in that year the Pope had set himself to restore in St. Peter's the altar of St. Boniface, from whom he took his name. He gave commission to Arnolfo di Cambio to design the tabernacle for the altar of the saint.

[1] The Pope wears the double-crowned tiara, and some authorities declare him to have been the first to use the double crown, but this is doubtful. Urban V. added the third crown.

Photo *Anderson.*

FIG. 10.—DURAGUERRA DI PIPERNO (LATERAN).

Photo *Alinari.*

FIG. 11.—BONIFACE VIII. (GROTTE VATICANE).

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Vasari[1] states that the name of Arnolfo was carved upon the tabernacle, and Ciampini[2] corroborates this, giving also engravings of the tabernacle, and of the tomb of Boniface VIII., which stood in the chapel behind the altar, and fronting the priest who officiated. Neither authority names Arnolfo as the author of the tomb, with which the tabernacle seems to have been finished in 1300, since in 1301 Boniface left directions that his body should be laid at his death in the sepulchre which he had seen made.

The woodcut in Ciampini, evidently very imperfect, yet shows us that the tomb followed the general type of the Cosmati tombs, the sarcophagus, with its sleeping figure, lying in a curtained recess, while a mosaic of the Virgin and Child, with St. Peter and St. Paul on either side, fills the space above. The sarcophagus, as we see it, corresponds to the rude woodcut of Ciampini. In the special ordering of the folds of the flatly-treated drapery, and in the range of shields on the lower part of the front, which was once filled in with mosaic, it closely resembles the design of Giovanni Cosmati's Gonsalvo Rodriguez († 1299) in Sta. Maria Maggiore, of Guglielmo Durando († 1296) in the Minerva, and of Matteo Acquasparta in Araceli—far more than the design of Arnolfo's Cardinal Braye at Orvieto, or the Adrian V. of Viterbo. So, too, the stiff triangle of consecutive ridgelike folds which droops from the arm of the sleeper seems to me to have more kinship

[1] 'Vasari,' ed. Milanesi, 1906, vol. i., p. 278, note.

[2] 'Ciampini de Sacris Œdificiis a Constantino Magno Constructis,' Rome, 1693, p. 65. The name was not visible when Cicognara wrote.

with the figure of Durando in the Minerva than with the work of Arnolfo. Nor can I see the handling of Arnolfo in the face of the dead Pope. I should prefer to think this sarcophagus the actual work of a Cosmati master—possibly of Giovanni himself—a view rendered more probable by the reflection that at that time, since both tomb and tabernacle were completed in a year, Arnolfo had his hands full with the carving of the latter, an elaborate structure of many pinnacles and niches, apparently as large as, though unlike in design to, those of S. Paolo and Sta. Cecilia. But, on the other hand, if the two beautiful angels (which are preserved in the crypt, Nos. 109, 110) in act of drawing back a curtain are really a portion of Boniface's tomb—of which, however, there is no proof, though it is difficult to suggest any other to which they could have belonged—then, since they are certainly from the hand of Arnolfo, I should explain the whole case by suggesting that Arnolfo, having his hands full with the tabernacle, superintended indeed the tomb, and added to it such work from his own chisel as he could find time for—namely, these two angels—while the sarcophagus with the sleeping Pope was left in the hands of Giovanni, the ablest of the living Cosmati, who had already proved his powers in the tombs of Durando, Rodriguez, and Acquasparta, all of whom had faithfully served Boniface. The half-length portrait of Boniface (No. 108), almost in the round, in tiara and mantle, his right hand raised in blessing, his left hand holding the keys, is a fine and expressive work from Arnolfo's own chisel. It could hardly have had any place

in the tomb, but what place, if any, it held in the tabernacle it would be equally hard to suggest. I believe it to have belonged to neither, though it may well have been placed over the entrance to the chapel. The tomb itself, both from the question of its authorship and from the history of its occupant, is one of the most interesting which can be seen in St. Peter's crypts.

CHAPTER IV

SCULPTURE IN ROME IN THE EARLY FOURTEENTH CENTURY

At the end of the thirteenth century and in the first few years of the fourteenth it seems to us who look back that there should have been everything to hope for the sculptor's art in Rome. The Cosmati masters had nourished a tribe of craftsmen of varying capacities, as must ever happen, but plentiful in numbers, and with that pride in their city and profession that made the Roman *marmorarius* sign his marble cutting 'Civis Romanus.' On to the tradition of these masters Arnolfo di Cambio had grafted the inspiration of the best Tuscan vision of art. There was room to have hoped that the fourteenth century should bring with it a great development of the native Roman school, and at least a plentiful supply of monuments from their hand. And yet there is no century in Rome since the millennium century more barren of such monuments. We are met by the fact that from the day of the Cosmatesque tabernacle of Sta. Maria in Cosmedin, done by Deodatus, son of Cosmas, in 1315, we do not meet with any name which has earned even a minor place in the roll of art save that of Giovanni di Stefano, the Sienese master who did the tabernacle of

S. Giovanni in Laterano in 1369, until we come to another Maestro Paolo (Magister Paulus) in the very last years of the century. And if a history of Italian sculpture in the fourteenth century should be written in which no work in Rome were mentioned, the omission might not be observed, and would be little felt as an injury to the book.

The fact is more eloquent since in other parts of Italy this fourteenth century, from first to last, has given to the world works which mark it as one of the picked centuries of Italy. At Orvieto, not so far away, Lorenzo Maitani and his fellows were producing that fine flower of Tuscan sculpture, the façade of the cathedral; at Siena the Duomo was to rise in all its glory, with many another landmark of the age; at Florence, Giotto, Andrea Pisano, Francesco Talenti, and Andrea Orcagna, were to carry the century through till Donatello came; at Pisa, Nino Pisano, son of Andrea, and others were to carry on the traditions of the earlier age; while in the North of Italy a master from the Pisan school, Giovanni di Balduccio, was creating, with the aid of the local Campionesi masters, the great school of sculpture in Lombardy. At other towns—Lucca, Pistoia, Arezzo, Perugia, everywhere—the sense of beauty, the activity of the craftsman, were awake and stirring. In the South, at Naples, Tino da Camaino the Sienese, Giovanni and Pace da Firenze, Masuccio, and others, were to fill the churches with those monuments of the Angevins which, strangely neglected to-day, are yet one of the chief glories of the city. Rome alone lay in torpor. Her century, which had opened in hope, can show

us, after the first fifteen years, a few gravestones in the pavements of one or two churches, here and there a tomb or a tabernacle of second-rate merit, a few ruined churches restored, some noble campanili, but nothing more. How can this be accounted for? Not, certainly, by the view that the evidences have been removed from us by the disasters which befell the churches, since, as we have seen, those disasters left a fair body of evidence for the art of the century before. We must seek the cause rather in the misery, the unrest, the desolation which hung over Rome like a pall for the greater part of the century. To begin with, it was the age, the bitterest age, of family strife in Rome—between Orsini and Colonna and those that hung towards one or the other—strife that had but few interludes, and which called out passions even more fiendish than those of the more modern vendetta. To quote but one instance, which happens to be relevant to our subject: It was in the Church of Araceli, possibly before that very shrine-tomb of the Savelli where Agapito Colonna and his wife, Mabilia Savelli, lie buried, that one day in the first half of the century a little child, their grandson, had been taken by his nurses to the church, where he was seized and strangled by some followers of the Orsini faction. This devilish deed is quoted but as one of many such which helped at that date to make the city of Rome a living Inferno. It was in 1308 that the great fire occurred which destroyed the Lateran Basilica. Men said it was the judgment of Heaven—not, of course, upon themselves, but upon someone else, for this is ever the manner of judgments. Two years later came the

visit of the Emperor Henry VII., to be crowned in St. Peter's as King of the Romans. He had started on his journey in all good faith, dreaming of himself as an angel of peace on earth, to learn all too soon that it ever takes two to make or keep a peace, and that some ill fate was everywhere to stain his steps in blood. He reached Rome at last, early in May, 1310, to be lodged in the Lateran Palace, hard by the ruins of the basilica. It is no far cry from the Lateran to the Vatican across the water, but it cost him seven weeks of cruel street fighting at intervals to learn how great the distance was. His future subjects, the Guelf party among the Romans, barricaded the narrow ways at every point. Once—on May 26—he fought his way successfully along the tortuous line of what was afterwards, in the days of Sixtus IV., to become the Via Papalis, the Papal route from Lateran to Vatican,[1] forced the barrier near the Campo dei Fiori, and reached the head of the Ponte S. Angelo. He was never destined to get nearer than that point to the Basilica of St. Peter. The fight in the open space south of the bridge ended in his repulse. He lost that day his henchman, Egidius, Abbot of Weiszenberg, and his chaplain, De Vilika, whose gravestones, with their bearings and inscriptions, are in Sta. Sabina. Under the pavement of the Araceli lie other German knights who died that day. There was fighting again, it would seem probable, on June 6 and again on June 17, since Araceli and Sta. Sabina have gravestones of those dates ; but it was late in June before

[1] To-day the Corso Vittore Emmanuele approximately follows this line.

he had to realize that he would never set eyes on the altar of St. Peter's. Fourteen more days of street warfare, and at last, on June 29, the Cardinal Legates, under pressure from the Roman people and its Senator, allowed Henry to enjoy his briefer procession from Sta. Sabina, on the Aventine— whither he had gone the night before—to the Lateran, where, surrounded by scaffoldings, under the roofless basilica, they placed the barren sceptre in his grip.

Nor was this the last, or even the least, of the sorrows of the city. Apart from the perpetual bloodshed between the rival factions, there followed later the struggle between Pope and Emperor, and with it that between Pope and people; and then once more the short-lived dream, with all its troubles, of Cola di Rienzi; and later again, Pope against Antipope— Urban VI. against Clement VII.—with the guns of S. Angelo (garrisoned for the Antipope) shattering the buildings of the city; until at last the century went out with the suppression of the dreams of the Roman people by Boniface IX. Nor was all this the filling of the cup of Roman misery. Throughout the century the plague had paid its visits, most notably in 1348—minimized, if at all, by the comparative scarceness of the population[1]— and, before the terror had passed away, in the winter of that year an earthquake left S. Paolo fuori le Mura in ruins, partly unroofed St. Peter's, and threw down the new-built gable of the Lateran.

[1] It is asserted by some authorities that at one period of the century, after the return from Avignon, the population of Rome had sunk to under 20,000—a statement, however, which it is difficult to accept.

But the over-mastering cause, which has been left to be considered last, lay undoubtedly in the absence of the six successive Popes from Rome when the Papal Court was moved to Avignon (1308-1377)—a period which impressed the Romans with the fact that, however ill they got on with their Popes, they got on worse without them. During that time there is a great gap, scarcely even filled at intervals, in the sequence of Roman sculptured tombs. A large number of the new Cardinals through that period were Frenchmen or foreigners; the Cardinals of Roman birth were few. The hearts of few of them were in Rome, the graves of fewer still. And the fact that the absence of the Papal Court, with its ecclesiastical entourage, should have affected so much, as it certainly did, the visible creations of art in Rome during the period brings home, as a most forcible lesson, the great and essential differences between Rome and Florence. For whereas in Florence it was the originally burgher class—the Medici and Tornabuoni bankers, the Pazzi, the Sassetti, and scores of other men who had grown rich in commerce—who provided the marrow and sinews of art, and whose wealth went to decorate the walls of the Novella, of the Trinita, of Ognissanti, of Sta. Croce, the burgher class of Rome at no period of the city's history had any part or lot, as a class, in the production or encouragement of art. It is this essential difference which explains to us why Florence was ever the producer of great art, why Rome was merely, on the whole, its collector or its patron. And even this patronage came not from the burgher class, but from the ecclesiastical class—the Pope, the Cardinal,

the Bishop—with here and there the humanist and the lawyer, even these often the close dependents of the ecclesiastical element. It is difficult to think of any really great work of art in Rome of the centuries from 1000 to 1600 which owed its existence to any member of the burgher class, except the destroyed frescoes which Giovanni Tornabuoni—and he was a Florentine of the Roman banking firm of the Medici—caused Ghirlandaio to paint in his chapel in the Minerva. It is difficult, again, to think of any member of the burgher class who is commemorated in any really notable tomb in Rome.

And, therefore, when the Papal Court deserted Rome in 1308 for Avignon, it took with it by far the greater part of that section of Roman society which alone possessed that wealth and that desire for art which together gave to the artist his opportunities. We shall presently see how in the next century the increasing strength of the Papacy, the increased wealth of Cardinals and Bishops, summoned to Rome artists from other centres, and filled the churches with noble frescoes and stately tombs. For the present enough has been said to suggest to the reader who may care to follow out in history the pathetic tale of Rome in the fourteenth century why the list of Roman tombs in that century is so insignificant.

The art of the Cosmati lasted well into the fourteenth century. The last assured work by the great Giovanni belongs to 1303. His brother Deodatus in 1315 completed and signed the ciborium of Sta. Maria in Cosmedin, in which he follows the type of Arnolfo in S. Paolo fuori le Mura. The same Deodatus was the master of the tabernacle of

S. Giovanni in Laterano (1315), whose fragments are dispersed in various portions of the church and in the cloister. This latter tabernacle was made for the church upon its rebuilding after the great fire. It is the last known work by a member of the family of Cosmas. But the work of the school, and still more its influences, continued till much later in the century—indeed, the decorative uses which it employed reappear from time to time, even in work of the earlier part of the next century. The flat gravestones of this century, which are found in some numbers in the pavements of Araceli, of Sta. Sabina, and in occasional examples in other churches—once, no doubt, they were plentiful in many—are, or were, often accompanied by a setting or framework of stone mosaic. Of these gravestones, which form upon the whole our best evidences for the work of the Roman sculptors in the second and third quarters of the century, attention may be drawn to a few of the best. Some of the most interesting, indeed, owe their interest not to the art employed upon them, and must be left for another place in this book. As would be supposed, they vary greatly in their artistic worth. The *marmorarius*, though he still might be able to sign himself 'magister,' and always a 'Civis Romanus,' if he had so pleased, was often enough a mere marble-cutter, quite uninspired, and capable only of telling us, in the plain speech of the chisel, of how the men and women of his day wore their clothes or their armour in the streets, and that is something to be grateful for. Indeed, in spite of their primitive handling, there is often in them a certain naive directness, sincerity, and sympathetic though un-

skilled quality of drawing, which gives them an eloquence greater than that of the more elaborated and accomplished gravestones of the following century. In the early part of the fourteenth century there was no great advance on those which here and there may be seen—very few remain —from the last half of the previous century. The pavement of Araceli still has some of these latter. There is something pathetic in these almost perished memories, slabs very illegible save by the aid of Casimiro's book, published in 1736, at a time when many might still be read. But we must not linger over the graves of the old gardener of the monastery, De Majori; of Mattias de Sancto, the Franciscan brother; of Giovanna, the wife of Gisi the chemist; of Magister Aldus, the master-mason of the church. These deeply interesting fragments have no place here save as pathetic memories. More to our purpose are the slabs of Munõz de Zamorra, General of the Dominicans († 1300), in S. Alessio, which Jacopo Turrita (?) worked in mosaic; of Stefania de Insula († 1303), in Sta. Sabina; of Petrus Alli de Allis († 1310), 'Capo de Rione,' whose strange story will be found in the detailed list of Araceli; and of Matteo Scriviano († 1313) in the same church. The very interesting slabs in Sta. Sabina of Perna Savelli († 1315); of Ocilenda Manganella († 1312), Fra Ildebrando da Chiusi, two Abbesses, a nun, and apparently the founder of the monastery, all in Sta. Bibiana; Fuscius de Berta in S. Pietro in Montorio; Matteo di Oddo Colonna (probably of the early years of the century), in S. Lorenzo in Panisperna; the pilgrim chemist, Giovanni di Montopoli, in Sta. Prassede; and, once more, many half-

obliterated fragments in Araceli, in the portico of Sta. Cecilia in Trastevere, in S. Francesco a Ripa, and in the church of the Popolo, help us onwards through the century, and bring us to the days of Cola di Rienzi, and of the men and women who lived through them in Rome. The records of these are all too scarce. Pietro di Gregorio di Charanzois, the knight in full armour (1346) who lies in S. Martino di Monte—weak, though interesting, work —may have taken his share in the stirring days of the Tribune; Giovanni de Mellis ('Miles'; † 1374), who lies in the Minerva—this time an admirable piece of work—may have known them in his youth; but, on the whole, there is a strange dearth even of these uncostly slab tombs between 1346 and the date of the return from Avignon. We may just pause to notice one otherwise not very notable slab in Sta. Sabina—of Domenico Pietro Leone († 1375)—because it presents us with a curious transition stage between graffito and relief. The edges of the outlines are rounded, somewhat in the manner of an Assyrian slab, and we obtain from this process the appearance of elementary relief. Sta. Prassede has the relief slab—not of high quality, however—of Giovanni Carboni, a Neapolitan knight who died in Rome in 1388, the year before the death of Urban VI. Perhaps he was one of Urban's paid mercenaries, whose employment caused such sorry work in Rome.

It will be seen that the list is meagre, and the search after slab fragments of the period produced more for the archæologist than the student of art. The history of this long day of sorrow and dreariness is written clear enough

in this great blank. When Urban VI., in 1389, was laid in his grave, after his restless, bloodstained nightmare of a reign, he was the first Pope since Boniface VIII. to find a tomb in the Vatican. It cannot be said that that tomb suggests a return to happier things in art. The Roman *marmorarius* who cut it did not rise above his subject.

Of the tombs of the first rank in the fourteenth century there is, as we have said, a notable dearth. There were but two Popes buried in St. Peter's during that time, Boniface VIII. († 1303) and Urban VI. († 1389), and of each of these the sarcophagus now lies in the crypt of St. Peter's. Of a third Pope, Benedict XII. († 1342), a record remains there—not a tomb, but a bust made by Paolo da Siena. The first-named tomb, that of Boniface VIII., has already been dealt with at the end of the last chapter. A gap of eighty-six years occurs between the death of Boniface VIII. (1303) and that of Urban VI. (1389). This last tomb needs no notice, but the mention of Urban's name at once suggests the tomb of Cardinal Adam Aston, Eston, or Easton—the last seems to be the true spelling—(† 1398) of which the sarcophagus and figure are preserved on the entrance wall of Sta. Cecilia. He was Canon of Salisbury and Prebendary of Yetminster, but exchanged the latter for a living in the Diocese of Norwich, and he was never Bishop of London, Hertford, or Hereford. He was a Benedictine, Cardinal of Sta. Cecilia, and was one of the six Cardinals who in 1383 opposed Pope Urban VI. in his wild resolve to lead his army of mercenaries—the dividing-line between brigand and mercenary was singularly slight, and the character of

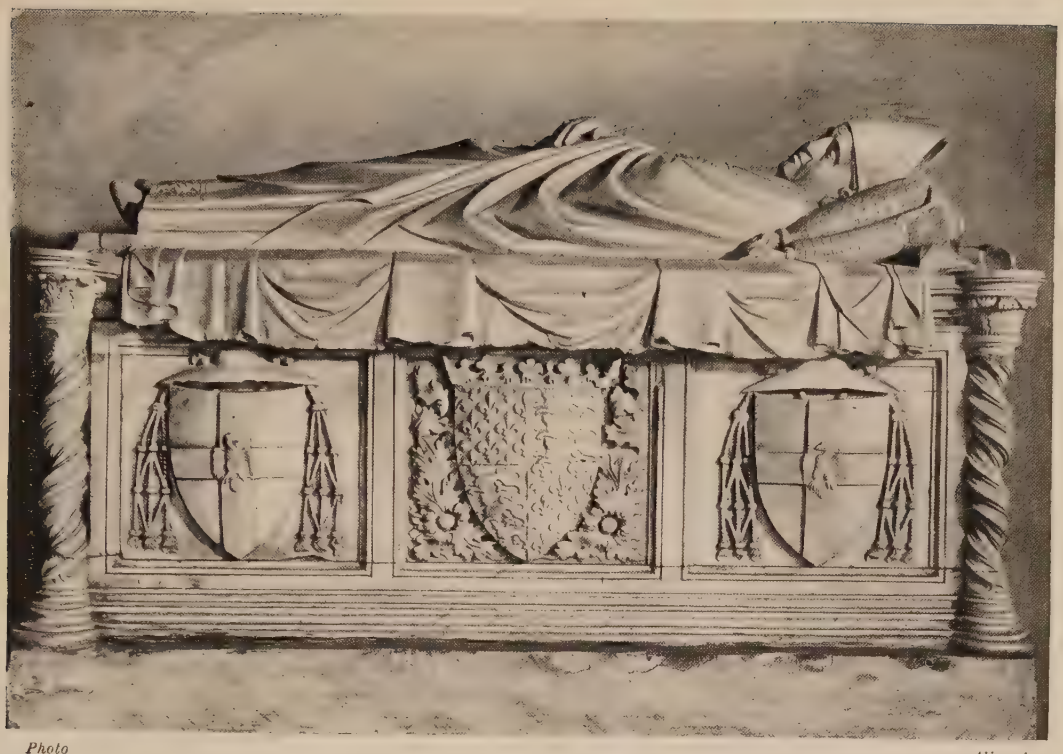

Photo *Alinari.*

FIG. 12.—ADAM EASTON (STA. CECILIA).

Photo *Moscioni.*

FIG. 13.—URBAN VI. (GROTTE VATICANE).

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the English Condottiere, John Hawkwood, whom Urban employed, does not belie this statement—to the aid of Charles of Durazzo against Lewis of Anjou, his rival for the throne of Naples. The ferocious Pope ill brooked the opposition of his Cardinals, and a conspiracy amongst them, real or imaginary, gave him his excuse for a terrible revenge. He seized the six Cardinals and imprisoned them at Nocera. Their dungeon was a disused cistern, and Dietrich of Niem, who was present, describes how the Pope paced the adjoining terrace reading his daily Office, while the screams of the prisoners in the hands of the torturers reached him from below. When he was compelled to evacuate Nocera, he dragged the six unhappy men along with him in his flight to Salerno. On the way the horse of the old Bishop of Aquila, a man of blameless life, fell lame. The Pope caused the Bishop to be killed, and laid his body by the roadside. From Salerno Easton and his companions were dragged across Italy to Trani, and thence, after long miseries, reached Genoa by sea. The Cardinals were still in chains. After several months, an attempt at escape renewed the fury of the Pope. Four of the Cardinals were strangled and buried in a stable. This seems to be the true story of their fate, though other accounts had it that they were sewn up in sacks and thrown into the sea. Adam Easton alone escaped. There had been time enough for the whole story to reach England, and Richard II. interceded vigorously for the English Cardinal. After the death of Urban he returned to Rome, where he lived till his death, in 1298. Boniface IX. restored him to his benefices, but to whom he

owes the honour of a tomb in Sta. Cecilia is not recorded. The tomb has been attributed to one Maestro Paolo (Magister Paulus), a Roman *marmorarius*, but it is far more probably a work by some Sienese master. It is some years later than the date of the Cardinal's death. The figure of Easton is carved in larger manner than belongs to the Roman sculptors of the time, or to Magister Paulus himself in his known work—*e.g.*, the Cardinal Pietro Stefaneschi († 1417), in Sta. Maria in Trastevere. Adam Easton's face is a piece of strong and individual portraiture. He lies on drapery, whose folds droop over a sarcophagus, in the middle panel of which the arms of England—the three lions and the fleurs-de-lis—are carved in high and strong relief. The twisted columns at the angles—all that is left of the architectural features of the tomb—suggest to us a design in the style of the later fourteenth-century Sienese.

The tomb of Cardinal Philippe d'Alençon († 1397), of the royal stock of Valois, brother of Philippe le Bel, once buried in St. Peter's, is now to be seen, in much mutilated condition, in Sta. Maria in Trastevere, whither it was removed, like its neighbour, the tomb of Cardinal Stefaneschi († 1417). Alençon had a notable life, and was a man of no mean force of character. In early days, as Bishop of Rohan, he had withstood the King of France, Charles V., who would have forced him to advance an unworthy monk to some preferment. Charles V. confiscated the Bishop's revenues; the Pope laid France under an interdict. The quarrel never healed. Alençon's bitter enemy, Odoarde d'Atenville, the King's bastard son, Governor of

Normandy, urged that there could never be peace so long as Alençon was in France. Gregory XI. therefore bestowed on him the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, which city, like many another Patriarch of Jerusalem, he never beheld, but, living in Rome (a form of exile at that date), presently became Cardinal of Sta. Maria in Trastevere. His appointment in 1381 as Patriarch of Aquileia brought him less peaceful days. The Friulani, nobles and people alike, would have none of him, and the district of Udine saw the strange sight of a Bishop making war—ineffectually but fiercely to the last—for six years to obtain possession of his see. His failure—or some say his violent measures, while others, again, say that it was the suspicion of his favouring Clement VII. (Antipope)—infuriated Urban VI., who deprived him of all his benefices. He never saw Aquileia from the inside, and returning, perhaps after Urban's death, to Rome, died quietly, with a high character for sanctity, in 1397.

Like many another tomb removed from St. Peter's, the sepulchre of this Cardinal is a patchwork. Of the original architectural portions everything has disappeared except the mutilated corbels, and possibly the little piece of cornice with the mosaic fillet. The bare, unsightly pilasters are fillings up of the time of its removal. The figure is probably that of Alençon, though the feet have been cut short to fit it to its present recess. The drapery which hangs from the bier is of later date, of the time of the removal; while, on the other hand, the admirable relief below of the death-bed of the Virgin is good work of the last part of the century—not, I think, by any

Roman *marmorarius*, but rather from the chisel of some Tuscan sculptor.

There is no small beauty in the work. The Virgin is represented as advanced in years, with a matron's snood upon her head, lying, in a stiff attitude, stretched upon a bed, her hands crossed. All the Apostles are present, according to the old legend that, when the Virgin died, the Apostles, who were dispersed about the world preaching, were miraculously summoned to her bedside. St. John stands beside the bed, holding in his arms a swaddled babe, the accepted method of representing the soul of the departed. The same convention, indeed, is to be seen in this very church in the mosaics on the face beside the tribune arch. And, again, it will be found in the great 'Majestas' panel by Duccio di Buoninsegna in the Opera del Duomo at Siena, and in various other instances. The whole treatment of the scene agrees well with Tuscan art of the late fourteenth century. At such a date there was no *bottega* in Rome which could have produced such a work.

The figure of Alençon has, as we have already said, been cut short, so that the end of the vestment is now within a few inches of the feet, which have been evidently hewn subsequently out of the lower part of the drapery, while the pillow on which the feet should have rested has entirely disappeared. This gives to the figure a stumpiness which seriously injures what, in its original proportions, must have been one of the most beautiful and dignified monumental figures in Rome. If the face of Alençon is carefully observed, even in a photograph, the

Photo *Anderson.*

FIG. 14.—PIETRO STEFANESCHI (STA. MARIA IN TRASTEVERE).

Photo *Alinari.*

FIG. 15.—PHILIPPE D'ALENÇON (STA. MARIA IN TRASTEVERE).

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reader will assure himself that he is looking at a piece of portraiture of unusual vitality and refinement, which contrasts strangely with the somewhat rudely summarized features which we see in the Bartolommeo Carafa († 1405) in Sta. Maria Aventina, and, again, the Pietro Stefaneschi († 1417), both by Magister Paulus. Here, again, I can see no hand of a Roman *marmorarius* of this date in the finely chiselled features of the French Cardinal—'Francorum genitus regum de stirpe'—if indeed this young firm face be his. He had been made Bishop of Beauvais in 1356[1]—promoted early, no doubt, but the age of child-Bishops had not yet come, and we can hardly suppose him to have been less than twenty years old at that date, and therefore he was a man of at least sixty-one summers at his death. The features would seem fitter for his first days in Rome, thirty years before, in which case we are compelled, if the Cardinal prepared his tomb thus early, remembering the forlorn conditions of the city at the time, more than ever to seek the authorship of this figure elsewhere than from a Roman sculptor. The puzzle is hard to solve, except in the supposition that a mistake, such as occurred in other cases, was made with regard to the identity of the statue in the Vatican crypt.

Maestro Paolo (Magister Paulus), several times mentioned, signed his name on the Bartolommeo Carafa († 1405), in Sta. Maria Aventina, and on the Pietro Stefaneschi Annibaldi († 1417), in the same church as the Alençon.

[1] This date is given on the authority of Cardella, *sub nomine* Filippo d'Alençon.

He is, further, it cannot be doubted, the author of the tomb in the Duomo of Capranica-Sutri (about 1408), where two brothers, Niccolà and Francesco, of the family Orsini-Anguillara, lie side by side on one sarcophagus. We get from these works a vision of a sculptor adhering in the early fifteenth century to the traditions of the early fourteenth, unrefined almost to roughness, yet with a certain wholesome and vigorous force, and with a refreshing sense of enjoyment in his use of natural forms, as, for instance, in the feelingly wrought foliage which runs across the string course of the Stefaneschi tomb. There has been much confusion concerning this Roman Paolo, who, by strange error, has been made by some authors to be identical with Paolo Mariano, called Taccone, and also often described by writers as Paolo Romano. This artist, Taccone, was dead in 1473, as is known by the fact of his son Francesco in that year buying his house in the Macel de' Corvi—a sculptor's haunt, recently destroyed—as son and heir—'quondam magistri Mariani tutii Taccone.' He is quite distinct from the earlier Magister Paulus of the Stefaneschi tomb, whose name is not again found after 1417.

The tomb of Cardinal Pietro Stefaneschi Annibaldi[1] († 1417), by the earlier *marmorarius*, Magister Paulus, opens once more a page of history. He had played through life heavy stakes in the changes and chances and, one may add, the intrigues of a troublous period. His active life fell within the limits of the Great Schism,

[1] This Cardinal must not be confused with the earlier Bertoldo Stefaneschi, who in 1290 gave the mosaics of the tribune, and is represented in them.

which began with Urban VI. (1389) and ended under Martin V. (1417-1431). Belonging on his mother's side to the great Trastevere family of the Annibaldi, lords of the fortress (now a mere farm) of Molara, which commanded the road to Naples between Tusculum and the Alban Mountain, Stefaneschi began his life on the lowest rung of the ecclesiastical ladder, as a boy acolyte in the Papal Chapel. Not many years have passed, and we find him Protonotary Apostolic, and greatly in favour with the Roman people, living in the Annibaldi Palace in the Trastevere, where he is found some years later entertaining King Ladislaus of Naples. One day of June, 1405, saw the election of four Cardinals, three of whom became Popes—Gregory XII., Alexander V., and Martin V.—the fourth was Stefaneschi. Two months later occurred one of those tragedies which mark the history of the city along its course. There was strife between Pope and people, tumults in the city, S. Angelo barricaded against the mob. One day in August a deputation of fourteen citizens of high repute—two Governors of Rome and Captains of regions—rode across the bridge to the Vatican. The interview was fierce and stormy. The deputies held their heads high and used strong terms. As they rode back, the Pope's nephew, Ludovico Migliorati, waylaid them near S. Spirito, dragged them into the hospital, murdered them—it is said with his own hands—and flung their bodies out of window. Rome flamed into sudden fury. The Pope, who had no share in this guilt, escaped to Viterbo with his nephew, losing many of his Court in that terrible flight for life. The good offices of Stefaneschi

had much effect in bringing about the reconciliation. The Pope—and, strange to say, the nephew also—were welcomed back to Rome on March 13, 1406. The Cardinal was now a great force in the city. Gregory XII. and John XXIII. both used him as their Vicar-General during their absence from Rome. It was a picturesque day when, in April, 1411, Stefaneschi, as Cardinal-Legate, rode out of the Porta S. Giovanni, side by side with Louis of Anjou, past his own fortress of Molara, with 120,000 soldiers at their heels, and Sforza, Braccio di Montone, and Paolo Orsini, as leaders of divisions, to destroy Ladislaus of Naples. Amongst them they made sorry work of the expedition. Two years later Ladislaus sacked Rome. It is difficult to feel sure of Stefaneschi's attitude in this crisis, but it is certain that a few years later he played his last card, and lost. In 1417 Rome saw an extraordinary sight—the Condottiere leader, Braccio di Fortebraccio of Perugia, in possession of the city as 'Defensor Urbis,' whilst Sforza d' Attendolo, the rival Condottiere, once peasant of Cotignola, first of the great name, strove to relieve S. Angelo, which was held for Queen Joanna. Stefaneschi had intrigued for Braccio, was even accused of plotting with the great leader against the life of the Pope, his master ; and when Sforza got the upper hand, he threw the Cardinal into prison. Then followed, a month or two later, Stefaneschi's death in S. Angelo—men of importance, as Vitelleschi said afterwards, were apt to die in S. Angelo—and the tomb by Maestro Paolo.

As we stand before the figure of the man who more than once altered the destinies of city and Pope, we

become once more aware that we are not looking at the monument as it left the hand of its master. There has been apparently a shortening of the mouldings which run lengthwise of the sarcophagus, and a corresponding shortening of the figure at the feet, which have been recut higher up the figure. The carving of the features will not compare with that of the Alençon close by. Nevertheless, it leaves the impression of an unmistakable portrait—an untrusty, sensual, and, strange to say, anything but powerful, face, rendered by the artist in somewhat summary and almost tentative fashion. The tomb, apart from the interest of Stefaneschi's personality, has several points which make it noteworthy. It is one of the last in Rome whose inscription is carved in Gothic character. It is one of the last tombs in Rome of much importance in which the medieval spirit appears with no admixture of the Renascence element; and it corresponds as a convenient landmark to the change which Rome witnessed in the very year of the Cardinal's fall and fate, when, in November, 1417, Martin V., the first true Renascence Pope, ascended the throne of St. Peter, ended the Great Schism, and at the same time practically ended also the dreams of the Roman Republic.

A brief notice is here needed of another tomb of the early years of the century—that of Marino Bulcano, known as Vulcano († 1394),[1] once Cardinal-Deacon of Sta. Maria Nuova (Sta. Francesca Romana), which is to be seen on the left side of the entrance-door of that church, nearest to the Forum. Here we have a work of the Roman

[1] The tomb is, however, nearly twenty years later than the death of the Cardinal.

stonecutter pure and simple, but not without a rude and vigorous dignity, which goes far to pardon the craftsman's lack of skill.[1] This Roman workman had seen and understood the austere majesty of the monuments of his ancestors —one is even curiously reminded in the rude handling of the lower band of ornaments of the rock-hewn sepulchres of some Etruscan ravine. It is interesting as presenting to us one of the earliest instances in Rome in which the Virtues—here but three in number: Faith, Hope, and Charity—so common a motive in the later tombs of the century, are added.

I have thought it well to deal with some of these early fifteenth-century tombs in this chapter because, though the division into centuries is convenient, it is, so far as the continuity of art is concerned, obviously arbitrary. The tombs of Carafa and Stefaneschi are, in point of style, survivals from a previous century.

[1] The fact that the tomb is carved out of travertine somewhat exaggerates the sense of roughness.

FIG. 16.—MARINO BULCANO (STA. FRANCESCA ROMANA).

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CHAPTER V

FIFTEENTH-CENTURY SCULPTORS IN ROME

The accession of Oddo Colonna (Martin V.) to the Papacy in 1417 marks, as was said at the end of the last chapter, for the city of Rome a period in the development of the Renascence. Not that it is possible to insist on any hard-and-fast line of demarcation. The old style had still some lengths of its course to run, and the tombs of Fonseca († 1422) and Ardicino della Porta in 1432 are both Gothic in character.[1] Even after the new or revived style of classical Renascence had asserted itself, we find work which seems to throw lingering glances of affection backwards to an earlier day. Then, after the middle of the century is well past, the old style finally disappears, to be no more seen.

The causes which brought about the change in Rome—a city, however, which was slower to take fire than many other cities in Italy—had been long at work. They lay in that yearning after the models of ancient classical art and classical letters, which finds its most typical expression in the lament of Poggio Bracciolini[2] over the destruction of the ancient monuments in Rome, written in the time of

[1] The inscription on Fonseca's tomb is Gothic in character; that of Ardicino is Roman.

[2] 'De Varietate Fortunæ.'

Eugenius IV. (1431-1447). He gives a pathetic description of the condition of the city, which we know from other sources to be not exaggerated, and he gives a list of the ancient monuments—the list, however, can be shown to be incomplete—which a man might set eyes on in his day. But no word escapes him of admiration for any work produced since the reign of Constantine, or of regret for their decay or loss. The beautiful works of which the Basilica of St. Peter's was still a treasure-house are to him as if they had never been. He has eyes and heart for nothing that is not classical. Presently the enthusiasm of the humanist was to become the enthusiasm of Pope and Cardinal, though never in Rome, as it had been in Florence, of citizen and burgher. But, as we have seen, it was not from the burgher class in Rome that Art was ever to look for her direction. And it was through the growth of the power and wealth of the Papacy and the Cardinals, which from the days of Martin V. went steadily forward to its culmination under Julius II., Leo X., and Clement VII. in the next century, that Rome in the last half of the fifteenth century was filled with works of art which often make of a church a museum. The progress of the Papal power to its final vantage-point was not without interruption. There were times, as with Eugenius IV., and less markedly even in the days of such prosperous Popes as Nicholas V., Pius II., and Sixtus IV., when there was pause and even retrogression. But the advance was like that of a tide upon a seashore, which seems to us to lose a foot at times, but ever gains two till it has conquered the whole shore. And with the

power and wealth of Pope went power and wealth, or wealth at least, of Cardinal and Bishop. The incomes of the Cardinals, as taxed for the Crusade in the reign of Alexander VI. (1501), make us cease to wonder at the splendour of the tombs which they or their heirs provided. In strict law a member of the College of Cardinals could not make a will. The disposition of his property was at the pleasure of the Pope. Commonly this reservation was not enforced, but its existence naturally led many a Cardinal to build his resting-place in his lifetime. The 'sibi vivo parabat' of a Cardinal's tomb was not always the result of the mere spirit of Browning's Bishop in St. Praxedes.

The fourteen years of Martin's Papacy yield us no crop of monuments. The Romans, as Gregorovius puts it, were still sitting on the dustheaps of their ruins. Eugenius IV. (1431-1447) followed, and in his second year Donatello came to Rome. We need not here discuss the question of whether the charming boyish visit with Brunelleschi, about 1404-1407, which Vasari describes, has any reality or not. On the question of what brought Donatello to Rome in 1432 Vasari is apparently in error. He says that Eugenius summoned him to prepare the pageant for Sigismund—once more a German Emperor come to be crowned King of the Romans. But that event was not decided on in 1432, and did not take place till the following year. The suggestion that Donatello came to help Simone in the casting of the fine bronze grave-slab of Martin V. in the Lateran Church is hardly more probable, since Simone was himself an admirable caster—as good as Donatello

himself, perhaps, though not so great an artist. It must be enough for us here that Donatello came, and that he spent some time in Rome, leaving it in 1433. The Simone here mentioned is described by Vasari as Donatello's brother. But Donatello was brotherless, and this Simone, thought by some to be Simone Ferrucci da Fiesole, is now generally accepted as Simone di Giovanni Ghini, who later, in 1439, was assistant to Filaréte in the making of the bronze doors of St. Peter's. Simone's grave-slab of Martin is a fine work, both as a design and for its technical qualities, only less vital and less moving in its qualities than if it had come wholly from the hand of Donatello himself, and possibly produced with him as an adviser or even as designer.[1] The great Florentine himself left behind him an evidence of his sojourn in the grave slab of Giovanni Crivelli († 1432), Patriarch of Aquileia, which, much injured by the feet of men, is to be seen now set upright in the Araceli. But a far more remarkable work is the well-known marble ciborium made for the chapel of the Madonna della Febbre in St. Peter's, and now removed to the sacristy of the basilica. Other work by Donatello in the Minerva and Sta. Maria Maggiore has disappeared, if it ever existed. Echoes of his work, perhaps, are to be seen in the little ciborium in Sta. Francesca Romana, wrongly attributed to Mino da Fiesole—hardly more than the work of an intelligent stonecutter inspired by a higher model; and again, perhaps, in the central portion of the tabernacle above the tomb of

[1] Other work attributed to Donatello in Rome, as the bronze statue of St. John Baptist in the Lateran, is not from his hand.

FIG. 17.—MARTIN V. (LATERAN).

Photo *Alinari.*

FIG. 18.—GIOVANNI CRIVELLI (ARACELI).

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Constantia Ammanati in the cloister of S. Agostino. Both these works seem to be modelled on an original by Donatello, which is now lost to us. His sojourn in Rome was therefore not productive of much visible work, and, what at first sight is stranger still, was an influence almost without result upon Roman sculptural art. The reason, however, is not difficult to find. His visit fell at a troubled time. They were the years in which Rome was seething with revolt against Eugenius. The Condottiere Niccolò Fortebraccio, nephew of Braccio di Montone, who said that the Pope had not paid him his due, was threatening Rome, and presently actually besieged it, the Colonna faction and the people joining him a few months after Donatello had gone back to Florence. The Pope, hard pressed by his enemies, made his way one day, disguised as a Benedictine monk, to the Trastevere river-bank, and got into a boat whose skipper was ready for him. The Romans realized the disguise too late. They followed him on either bank with yellings and volleys of stones—and stone-throwing was almost a fine art in those days in the cities of Italy—but the Pope escaped down the river to Fiumicino, and was not seen again in Rome for nearly ten years, living during that time chiefly in Florence. It is evident that the year or two before his flight presented no soil on which the seeds of Donatello's art, or of any other art, could make wholesome growth. Still less were the next ten years a time of rest and hope, for no sooner was Eugenius gone than there stepped upon the scene, in the person of his Cardinal-Vicar and Lieutenant, Gian Vitelleschi, one of those figures which, if a writer like Scott

had imagined it, would be declared by any reader to be impossible. Vitelleschi may be ranked with Sigismondo Malatesta of Rimini (of his own date) and Cesare Borgia, later in the century, as one of the most appalling problems of human nature. He had begun life as the henchman of the Condottiere Tartaglia Toscanella—men called him his secretary, probably because he could write, and Tartaglia couldn't—and he knew all that there was to be known of the warfare of his age, and its methods. Presently he is found in his native place, Corneto, where the palace which he built, close to the entry of the city, remains one of the most interesting in Italy. At what date he was ordained as deacon and priest of the Church is not mentioned by the chroniclers, but Eugenius made him Prefect of the City, Bishop of Recanati, Rector of the Marches, Patriarch of Aquileia, and lastly Vicar-General of Rome in his own absence. And this born leader of men, who lived in armour, is the embodiment of the able, resourceful, unscrupulous Condottiere of his day, whom no pity ever deterred, and to whom no deed of cruelty ever brought remorse. He was in the field a match at least for Sforza d'Attendolo, for Niccolò Fortebraccio, and for Piccinino—far more than a match for the robber chiefs in their Campagna nests, and for the nobles in their strongholds, hardly less robbers than they. Unhappy Palestrina was by him once more razed to the very soil, and Zagarolo, with more than fifty other villages, castles, hamlets, and towers, was laid in ashes by him. Of the ruins which strew the Campagna, many date as such from the day of Vitelleschi. It was an ill day for the foe who fell into his

hands. The Count Antonio Colonna, hanged at sight upon the nearest tree; Pietro de Vico, the once Prefect of the city, beheaded head downwards; the Trinci of Foligno, old family foes, done to death at Soriano; Porcellino, the leader of revolt in Rome, torn with hot pincers in the Campo dei Fiori—these and many other victims bear witness to his murders or his executions: the dividing-line is too narrow for analysis. But the nameless crowd who went day by day to the gallows left no memorial save the curious comment of the Romans themselves that it was needed in the city, and that it was good for them. True children of the wolf, they knew themselves, and they thought Vitelleschi the sort of man they wanted. The Roman who walked over the Capitol and saw the gallows-tree with its full crop of fruit, and then, turning down the Via delle Botteghe Oscure towards Campo dei Fiori, saw the limbs of the men who had been caught in the night nailed to the 'dark shops' which they had tried to rob, felt, it would seem, happy in the thought that there were so many thieves the less. And Vitelleschi, too, made bread cheap. They were in earnest that day, and not a mere 'crowd of fickle Romans,' when the Cardinal-Vicar, in full armour, after the destruction of Palestrina, rode through Rome behind a procession of his fellow-clergy, and was greeted as 'Pater Tertius Urbis Romuli,' and voted, like Charles of Anjou, an equestrian statue on the Capitol. That statue was never destined to be made, and Fate decreed that the only equestrian figure of the century in Rome should be for him who touched the spring which presently trapped the Cardinal. For Vitelleschi's day was nearly ended. His

fall came, not from Rome, his admirer, but from Florence, his deadly foe. To what extent Eugenius must share the guilt of his Cardinal-Vicar it is hard to estimate. The deeds of Vitelleschi were doubtless his own, but Eugenius uttered, so far as we hear, no protest. It was for the Florentines at last to prove, or to pretend to prove, that Vitelleschi was hatching a plot to make himself Pope. It was probably untrue, though Vitelleschi was capable of it. Eugenius, weak of will, though uncontrolled of temper, acted as Charles I. to Strafford, or Ferdinand to Gonsalvo of Cordova, or Justinian to Belisarius, and sacrificed the agent by whose acts he profited. But Vitelleschi was a dangerous bird to trap. He had troops all round him and at his heels. The Cardinal Mezzarota of Padua, known as Scarampo, and Antonio Rido, Castellan of S. Angelo, were equal to the occasion. One day when Vitelleschi, ahead of his escort, rode side by side with Rido across the Ponte S. Angelo, a barrier suddenly fell. The Cardinal-Vicar fought desperately for life, but, slightly wounded, was dragged into the castle. He knew too much of the world he lived in to hope for recovery, even from those slight wounds. Men like him, he said, could not be allowed to recover. And his prophecy proved to be true when, a week later, his body, almost naked, was laid out in the Church of the Minerva, for the Florentines, whose national church it then was, to gaze upon. Cardinal Scarampo succeeded to his offices, and to his crimes, but not to his great capacities. A few years later, after Rido's death, in 1457, a tomb was erected in Sta. Francesca Romana by Rido's son to his father, the Castellan, in

which the latter appears on horseback, as he did that day when he entrapped Vitelleschi. It is the one surviving[1] equestrian monument in Rome of the fifteenth century, and is of interest if only on that account. The tomb of Eugenius himself, now in San Salvatore in Lauro, was mainly from the hand of Isaia; but of this sculptor we must speak presently. For the moment we must refer to the work of an artist, once more a Florentine, as the next to do important work in Rome after Donatello's departure.

Eugenius, as we have said, after his escape from Rome lived for the most part in Florence, from 1434 till his return to the city in 1443. He had therefore good opportunity of seeing the best in any sort—painting, sculpture, or any other craft—which was being done at that day. For example, Ghiberti had already set up his first gate of the baptistery, and was now busied, with his little band of helpers, over the second. And in 1439 Eugenius, having resolved to add to the Basilica of St. Peter's gates that should be worthy of it, chose from among the artists of Florence Antonio Averlino, called Filaréte, and sent him to Rome. Vasari speaks severely of this selection, and more severely still of its results. It is likely enough that the Pope would have given the commission to Ghiberti if that sculptor had been able to leave Florence, for Eugenius showed his admiration for Ghiberti by ordering from him about this very time the Papal tiara of gold and pearls which Vasari mentions—a work, of

[1] Vasari mentions another, by Paolo Romano, once in St. Peter's, but cast out.

course, which did not take him from Florence. Donatello, too, had his hands more than full at this time, with the Singing Gallery of Florence, the bronze doors of San Lorenzo old sacristy, and other works. And therefore Eugenius chose Filaréte, the most competent of Ghiberti's assistants, perhaps by the great sculptor's recommendation. Few such opportunities have ever been placed by Fortune in the hands of any artist. The verdict of his day, which subsequent ages have hardly reversed, seems to have been that Filaréte's power fell short of the occasion. He succeeded as craftsman: the casting is excellent, but the design[1] leaves us unmoved, or else provokes us, as it provoked Vasari, to comparisons with other Florentine work of its day. The grace and refinement, the sense of beauty and human sympathy, which mark the work of Ghiberti, are absent here. Filaréte seems to have thought himself bound, here in Rome, to adopt a dry, austere, uninspired style, which we should little have looked for from one who had served in the studio while the 'Gates of Paradise' were in making. There is an air of intentional archaism in the figures of these gates, which, combined with the overloading of the decoration, justifies on the whole Vasari's unfavourable verdict. The gates were finished and set up in 1445, seven years before the second gate of the Florentine baptistery was in its place. Filaréte remained yet a year or two in Rome, and in that time commenced the tomb of the Portuguese Cardinal

[1] It is right to say that the general symmetry and proportion of the design is injured by the addition round the limits of Filaréte's work of later portions.

Photo *Moscioni.*

FIG. 19.—EUGENIUS IV. (S. SALVATORE IN LAURO).

Photo *Alinari.*

FIG. 20.—ANTONIO CHIAVEZ (LATERAN).

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Antonio di Portogallo († 1447), of which he completed only the sarcophagus, with its two *putti* holding the label which bears the inscription on the front. This sarcophagus is worth study, not merely for its very high standard of technical skill, but also because it is amongst the finest examples of lettering to be seen in Rome. But Filaréte's work went no farther. He had to fly from Rome on a charge of stealing relics, a form of piety which had some precedent, since Fra Guglielmo, the part-sculptor of the shrine of St. Dominic, formerly had made his exit from Bologna with a rib of the saint in his travelling-bag —a fraud which, when confessed upon the sculptor's death-bed, had been condoned because of its pious savour. But things were more serious now than in the day of Guglielmo, especially in Rome, and only a few years before a Canon and two priests had been hanged and burnt in front of this very Basilica of the Lateran for a theft of precious stones from the shrine of the Sacred Heads. Guilty or not guilty, Filaréte thought it well to escape, and Rome knew him no more.[1] He left behind him his gates, but once more it must be said that his influence on art in Rome was hardly apparent.

The tomb of Antonio di Portogallo here mentioned is a striking example of the vicissitudes which were apt to overtake the monuments of Rome in an often-restored basilica such as the Lateran. We have seen Filaréte's share in it, but the tomb as we see it to-day is from the hands of at least three men. The recumbent figure of the

[1] A strong appeal to the Pope from the Signoria of Florence on behalf of Filaréte appears to have been ineffectual.

Cardinal is by the hand which carved the figure on the tomb of Eugenius IV. in San Salvatore in Lauro, and the Virtues Fortitude and Justice within niches are also by the same hand.[1] The five figures above—Faith, Hope, Charity, and the Annunciation—are by yet another hand.

Turning from this tomb to that of Eugenius IV., we are brought into direct contact with the name and work of Isaia di Pippo di Gante da Pisa, concerning whom a poet of his day, Porcellio Pandone, asserts that he surpassed Pheidias himself. The reader who stands before the tomb of Eugenius or of Sta. Monika will form his own estimate of Porcellio's value as a critic, and nothing could be gained by quoting his opinion, except that it shows that Isaia in his day enjoyed a great reputation in Rome. Of his personality we get hardly any glimpse, nor is it very easy to realize him through his art. He was, as his name implies, from Pisa. We do not know the date of his birth nor of his death, nor is there any record of the date of his first coming to Rome. He was the father of Giovanni Cristoforo Romano. We do not find that any work seems to have come from his hand after the early years of the decade 1470-1480, while the earliest works which have been attributed to him in Rome are the figures of Fortitudo and Justitia in the Chiaves monument (1447), in S. Giovanni in Laterano, and those two other Virtues,

[1] Two other Virtues, Prudence and Temperance, which appear to have once belonged to the tomb of Chiaves, have been inserted in the tomb of Cardinal Acquaviva (sixteenth century) in the same aisle of the Lateran. See Lisetta Ciaccio in 'L'Arte,' p. 440. For a contrary view see Lazzaroni e Munoz, 'Filaréte,' Rome, 1908.

Prudentia and Temperantia, which have got wrongly placed upon the tomb of Cardinal Acquaviva, but belong to Chiaves. If we accept the attribution, which the author is unable to do, and regard him as having worked with Filaréte, or after the Florentine's departure, on the monument of Chiaves († 1447), he could hardly have been less than twenty at the time. His activity, however, undoubtedly belongs to the period immediately after the middle of the century. He was with Paolo Romano, Andréa d'Aquila, and others engaged on the Arch of Triumph of Alfonso in the Castel Nuovo of Naples. With Paolo, too, he was associated in the work of the Loggia of the Benediction which in 1462 Pius II. ordered for St. Peter's, Paolo in this case holding the leading position. Again, the same two sculptors were associated in the work of the tabernacle which was prepared in St. Peter's for the reception of the skull of St. Andrew, which Thomas Palæologus, seeking asylum in Rome, had brought over with him from the Morea. The Cardinals Bessarion, Ammanati, and Oliva escorted it from Narni, bringing it, on Palm Sunday, 1462, across the Ponte Molle, where a little shrine, which held till 1866[1] a statue of St. Andrew by Paolo Romano, still marks its first resting-place south of the Tiber. Thence a procession of a thousand priests in white, headed by the Pope and Cardinals and followed by the people in their thousands, brought it along the Via Flaminia to the Church of the Popolo, where it remained one night, till next day, in still more gorgeous and striking pageant, it

[1] The statue was injured by lightning in that year, and is much restored.

passed to the final resting-place in St. Peter's, Pius II., who had watched by it all night, carrying it barefooted through the streets, past the Pantheon, along the Via Papalis, to the Vatican, with a procession of 30,000 candle-bearers. It becomes evident from this that the commission for the shrine, given this same year to Isaia and Paolo, implies that they were counted the very best who could be found. Fragments of the tabernacle remain in the Grotte Vaticane, the lunette (224)—angels bearing up the head of St. Andrew—being by Paolo, while the corresponding lunette (221) is by Isaia. Other works assigned to him, on evidences of style, are the sarcophagus of Latino Orsini, in St. Peter's crypt; a little Madonna and Child, in the Cappella Prægnantium, in the same place; a statue of St. Mark, in the cloister of the Lateran; a relief of two angels on either side of a vase in the chapel of Sixtus IV., in Sta. Maria Maggiore; while to this meagre and not indisputable list is added by some critics the relief of St. Mark (wrongly assigned to Filaréte in Cicerone) over the large portal of San Marco; the tomb of Astorgio Aginense († 1451) in the Minerva cloister; and the grave-slab of Fra Angelico, in the Minerva Church. This is little enough, even if we accept it all, by which to gauge what was evidently a great reputation. Much, no doubt, has perished which came from his hand, and something remains to be recognized.

The tomb of Eugenius IV. is, however, recorded by a contemporary writer as the work of Isaia. Once in St. Peter's, it is now to be seen in S. Salvatore in Lauro, whither it was removed in 1623. It has until recently

been viewed as a work dating from a period not long after the death of Eugenius, in 1447, and consequently as the first example in Rome of a tomb of pure Renascence character, and the prototype of the tomb, with recess behind the figure, bounded by rectangular lines, in contrast to the lunette or bow-shaped tomb (originating in Florence), of which the earliest example in Rome is the Roverella (1475) tomb in S. Clemente. But recent writers have shown that the figure of the Pope belongs to an earlier tomb, and also that the inscription is not that which belonged to the tomb as it was at first erected in St. Peter's, as we learn from authentic records. It is therefore suggested that this tomb, which is undoubtedly by Isaia, took the place of another, the figure, not by Isaia, being retained. It is suggested that the second tomb was erected in the Papacy of Paul II. (1464-1471). The figure is, on the evidence of style, by the same sculptor who did the figure on the monument of Cardinal Chiaves in the Lateran.

The tomb of Eugenius cannot be called a great work; nor, coupling it with the Sta. Monica presently to be spoken of, does it place Isaia above the level of a painstaking and competent, but dry and uninspired, master of the chisel. As a pioneer of the Renascence movement in Rome, it would be unjust to refuse to give him the honour due to those who in any movement are the first to lead or cut the way. He is interesting as a historical link in the development of sculpture in Rome, but without the fascinating qualities of his Florentine contemporaries.

In S. Agostino is to be seen the sarcophagus of Sta. Monica, with a sleeping figure on it, belonging to the

great tomb which Isaia made to contain the bones of the saint which had been found beneath the high-altar of the cathedral at Ostia, and solemnly transferred to the church dedicated to her son, which not long before Cardinal D'Estouteville had built. Other portions of the tomb—four statuettes of saints—are to be found in the small portico of the church towards the Via Pianellari. Comparison between these statuettes and those which surround the tomb of Eugenius leaves no doubt that they come from the same hand. The figure of Sta. Monica can at best be reckoned as an opportunity lost. Austere and dry, it is not without a certain dignity, but the sympathetic touch is once more absent. The folds lie along the body in rigid parallel tubes. The face, not without comeliness, is also carved in foldlike wrinkles, and is rather a careful study of a living model with the eyes shut than a sculptor's ideal vision of the last sleep of the mother of St. Augustine. To think, as one stands before it, for one moment of Jacopo della Quercia's Ilaria da Carretto (which, by the way, Isaia probably knew well) is to measure at once the distance which separates the two arts.

The grave-slab of the Beato Fra Angelico da Fiesole († 1455) is to be seen in the Minerva, fixed upright against the wall, at the corner of the ambulatory to the left of the high-altar. During his sojourn in Rome the great painter had lived in the monastery of the Minerva, among his Dominican brethren, and died there in his cell. The slab is simple and almost rude in its cutting, and yet very expressive of the character of the man whom it represents. The eyes, deep sunk in the sockets, are closed in sleep.

DIVO NICOLAO
HOC TVMVLO AETERNVM PRO NICOLAO QVESO
VRBS QVEM ROMA TENET VRGENTEM PALENA TVA SANA MOBO
DE MOE IANICOLO MENTIS DEFENDITE RE MVRV LI PETMS PLACIDO NVO SCS ONOFRIVS OE

Photo *Anderson.*

FIG. 21.—NICCOLÀ DI FORCA PALENA (S. ONOFRIO).

HIC IACET VENER PICTOR HIO DE FLO ORDIS PRAEDICATOR ANGELICVS
NON MIHI SIT LAVDI QVOD ETRAM VELVT ALTER APELLES
SED QVOD LVCRA TVIS OMNIA CHRISTE DABAM
ALTERA NAM TERRIS OPERA EXTANT ALTERA CAELO

FIG. 22.—FRA ANGELICO (MINERVA).

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The face, worn and wasted, tells of the weapon that has worn out its sheath. He wears the habit of his order. Comparison with the monument of Sta. Monica in S. Agostino suggests the view which several authors have accepted—that the gravestone of Fra Angelico comes from the chisel of his fellow-Tuscan, Isaia da Pisa.

The sculptor who was so often associated with Isaia da Pisa—namely, Paolo Romano—is again a personality who is not quite easy to realize, and who, indeed, has been as yet not fully extricated from at least two other personalities. Vasari confuses him with that earlier Magister Paulus, also sometimes called Paolo Romano, who was active in the early years of the fifteenth century, and has left us the tombs of Stefano dei Surdi, Carafa, Stefaneschi, and Anguillara-Orsini. He has been commonly identified as Paolo di Mariano di Tuccio Taccone da Sezze, and under this name we will for the present consider him, reserving to a later portion of the chapter the doubt which has recently arisen through the apparent discovery of documents. We do not possess his birth date. He comes before us first, in 1451, as the assistant of his father and of one Albino da Castiglione, with Lancilotto di Milano one year later, in making the two chapels of St. Peter and St. Paul on the bridge of S. Angelo, which Nicolas V. had ordered in memory of the terrible disaster of the previous year of the jubilee, when a mule, breaking loose among the dense crowds of pilgrims returning to the city from the exhibition of the 'Santo Sudario,' had caused a panic which resulted in the death of 200 persons, either crushed to death or forced into the Tiber. Seven years

later, in 1458, he was of sufficient note to be summoned to Naples to work on Alfonso's Arch of Triumph,[1] with Isaia da Pisa, Andréa d'Aquila, Antonio di Chelino, Pietro da Milano, and Francesco Laurana; and on his return to Rome it is evident that he had achieved a position as a sculptor which entitled him to be employed on the highest commissions. In 1460 he was entrusted with the colossal statues of St. Peter and St. Paul for the steps of the Basilica of S. Pietro. The statues were completed in a strikingly short space of time—by the month of March, 1461—and remained in or near their original position till the days of Pius IX., when they were transferred to either side of the entrance of the sacristy, where they are now to be seen.[2] But a close examination of the statues will show that, while the St. Paul agrees with other works presently to be mentioned from the hand of Taccone, the St. Peter is of a different handling. Venturi, commenting on the short time occupied in the execution of the statues, gives both to Paolo Romano, with the reserve that in the St. Peter he made large use of the chisel of his assistants. I should go much farther than this, and claim that the St. Peter is a statue from another hand. The same writer, in evidence of the author-

[1] The attributions to various authors of portions of this Arch, which, like a chameleon, seems to take fresh colour under each fresh critic, are too numerous to be here discussed. The endeavour to disengage the work of Paolo Romano from the rest can as yet hardly be said to have resulted in complete conviction.

[2] The position of these statues of great size, made to be seen in the open air, is now a somewhat unfortunate one. They can be viewed only at a distance of a few feet, to their great disadvantage.

ship of the St. Peter, draws attention to the similarity between it and the figure of the Virtue Fortitude in the Arch of Alfonso—a similarity which may at once be admitted—and he had previously claimed the Fortitude as part of Paolo's share in that monument. But here I would remark that the similarity may point to the fact that Diego Angeli's suggestion, rejected by Venturi, that the Neapolitan Mino del Reame had a share in the sculpture of the Arch becomes again worthy of consideration. In the St. Peter of the sacristy I believe that we have a work by Mino del Reame, not yet under the influence of Mino da Fiesole, but trying to conform to the style of Paolo, and, above all, to adopt the workmanship necessary for a colossal statue. The handling of the folds of the St. Peter is, when closely examined, so absolutely different from that of the St. Paul that the hand of mere assistants working under Paolo is not enough to account for it. Certain other minutiæ, trivial at first sight, are yet forcible, within due limits, as evidence of the unconscious peculiarities of two different masters. For example, the method of working the shape of the toes and toenails is strangely different. The left hand of the St. Paul, grasping the book, has a projection of the joint of the thumb which almost amounts to deformity, and the same peculiarity is found in a relief of the Crucifixion in Sta. Maria Monserrato attributed to Paolo Romano. This strongly marked trait is absent from the St. Peter.

Very much akin to the St. Paul of the sacristy is the statue of St. Paul on the bridge of S. Angelo, undoubtedly the work of Paolo Romano. It was removed from the

Chapel of S. Andréa, in S. Pietro, where it was lying on the ground, by order of Clement VII., and some writers have identified it with an *imagine* wrought for the loggia of the pulpit of benediction which Pius II. erected; but the size of the S. Angelo statue hardly corresponds to what we should expect if it had formed any part of the work in question. Paolo Romano had, as we have seen, been associated with Isaia da Pisa in the carving of the tabernacle which Pius II. prepared for the head of St. Andrew. The fragments which belong to the hand of Paolo—namely, two lunettes with reliefs of angels supporting the head of the saint—are in the Grotte Vaticane (No. 221). To Paolo also belongs the statue of St. Andrew in the little shrine near Aquacetosa, on the south side of the Ponte Molle, where the cavalcade bearing the head of the saint first rested after passing the bridge. The shrine was wrecked and the statue injured by lightning in 1866.

But whereas in the tabernacle of St. Andrew's head Isaia had been the first in command, in the loggia of the Benediction we find Paolo at the head of affairs. In this capacity he goes to Carrara in 1462 to select marbles. The fact, though it does not imply his recognized superiority to Isaia, any more than presently similar relations place Bregno above Mino da Fiesole, yet proves the high esteem in which Paolo was held in his day, and especially by Pius II. The latter, indeed, employed the sculptor on the trivial task, so characteristic of the times, of fashioning the two effigies of his impious foe, Pandolfo Sigismondo Malatesta, which, having been duly

and deeply cursed, were solemnly burned in the piazza of St. Peter's, and afforded great comfort to the mind of Pius, as he narrates, from the excellence of their likeness. The loggia of the benediction was a more worthy task, in which, besides Isaia, Mino da Fiesole, Giovanni Marco da Firenze, Lorenzo di Salvatore, Pagno da Settignano, Jacopo da Pietra Santa, and others, were engaged. Here, indeed, we find him at work on his most important commission. Of other work by, or attributed to, Paolo Romano I need not speak at any length. In S. Giacomo degli Spagnuoli a S. Giacomo seems to be from his hand. For the story which belongs to the two angels in the tympanum above the entrance-door of that same church, of which the left-hand angel bears the signature OPUS PAULI, while the right-hand is signed OPUS MINI, I must refer the reader to the pages which deal with Mino del Reame. Paolo is known to have undertaken a monument to Luca Filippo Ricarducci, of whose fate we have no record, and a bust of Protonotary Cesarini, which has not been traced. In his will, dated 1470, he ordered the restoration to Cardinal Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini (Pius III.) of an unfinished statue of Pius II., and it is more than probable that this is no other than the recumbent figure which is now seen on the sarcophagus of Pius II. in S. Andrea della Valle. Of still greater interest, however, was the commission, a few years before the dating of his will, which brings his name into connection with one of the most striking personages of his time—one who, like his predecessor and model, Vitelleschi, whom he supplanted, stands for all time as a

type of the ferocity which prevailed in Rome in his day. This was Cardinal Lodovico Mezzarota, or dell'Arena, better known as Scarampo. Born in Padua or Treviso, he had been trained as a physician; but presently, coming south to seek his fortunes, he took service under Vitelleschi, to whom he proved a valuable lieutenant. When Vitelleschi fell, Scarampo had prepared the way, and the death of the former in S. Angelo, following on his very slight wound, was, rightly or wrongly, laid at the door of Scarampo, who at once succeeded to his offices and his influence, and for the next few years ruled Rome with a rod of iron. His first achievement established his fame as a leader of troops. At Anghiari, in command of the united armies of Pope Eugenius IV. and of Florence, he defeated Niccolò Piccinino, at the head of the forces of Milan, and followed up his success by sweeping the marches of Ancona clear from the troops of Francesco Sforza. His reward was immediate. Eugenius made him Archbishop of Florence and Bishop of Bologna. But the sturdy Bolognesi refused to accept him. A Cardinal's hat was the next honour, S. Lorenzo in Damaso furnishing him his title, and he then became Chamberlain to Eugenius. In 1439 the Patriarchate of Aquileia followed. He inflicted a crushing defeat on the Turks at Belgrade, killing 6,000 and taking sixty cannon, with booty of great value. Presently we find him in command of a victorious squadron at Rhodes, though his skill as an Admiral fell a good deal short of his capacity as a Condottiere. In the city itself he proved a good Ædile. He paved the Campo dei Fiori, and improved its neighbourhood, in which he had built for

himself the costly palace of S. Lorenzo in Damaso, which Raffaele Riario pulled down to make way for the Cancelleria. His government of the city was framed on the Vitelleschi model, but even surpassed it in savage cruelty and disregard for human life. Rome day by day saw sights more ghastly than even the earlier Cardinal had provided, and there were mornings when the streets of the Campus Martius in places resembled a butcher's shambles. But he failed where Vitelleschi had partially succeeded—in keeping the Romans in order. Falling not short of his predecessor in ferocity, he lacked the qualities—the fearless decision and the grim *bonhomie*—which had forced the Romans, in spite of their hate, to cheer Vitelleschi in the streets. For Scarampo spent the great wealth which he amassed in gluttony and free living. In his palace at S. Lorenzo he lived the life of, and earned the nickname of, a Cardinal Lucullus. Bread, too, was dearer than under Vitelleschi, and Scarampo had taxed the wine. The suffering, and sometimes starving, Romans saw and heard with angry loathing of the doings at the palace, of the horses and the hounds which he kept (he is charged with being the first of Cardinals to do this), with the luxury and feasting which went on at his table, for he had a large family of children.[1] He was reputed the richest private person in all Italy, and when one night he lost his 8,000 gold ducats to Alfonso of Naples, the Romans were as glad that Scarampo lost as sorry that Alfonso won.

But when Eugenius died, the power of Scarampo waned. Callixtus, indeed, in 1456, sent him once more on board

ship—to get him out of the way, it was thought, of the clamouring Romans. His fleet of sixteen galleons sacked a few villages in the Archipelago, won a small fight off Mytilene, but effected little else, and, returning to Rome, he betook himself once more to the pleasures of the palace and to his collection of antique gems and jewels. On his death, in 1464, after twenty-five years in the purple, Paul II. (Pietro Barbo), his enemy at all times, seized Scarampo's treasures when they were already in the waggons which his nephew had provided. He was buried in his own Church of S. Lorenzo in Damaso, in a tomb wrought by Paolo Romano; but a little later one Antonio Toccho, a canon of the church, broke open the tomb and spoiled the dead of the vestments and ring. The deed seems to have found no avenger, and the tomb remained wrecked and neglected till Raffaele Riario pulled the church down to make way for the present edifice. Then, in 1515, Enrico Bruni,[1] Bishop of Taranto, who seems to have received some kindness in his youth from the forgotten man, 'in memory of early days,' gave him a new tomb—'lavorato sul gusto antico.' On this tomb is seen the original figure of Scarampo which was upon the earlier tomb. The figure represents a personality at once so repulsive and so attractive that it is difficult to get oneself into the frame of mind in which it can be criticized as a mere work of art. The statue is somewhat clumsily modelled, but shows the straight and formal

[1] This Enrico Bruni was the Bishop who, on April 16, 1507, laid the foundation-stones of three piers beneath the dome of St. Peter's.

FIG. 23.—LOUIS D'ALBRET (ARACELI).

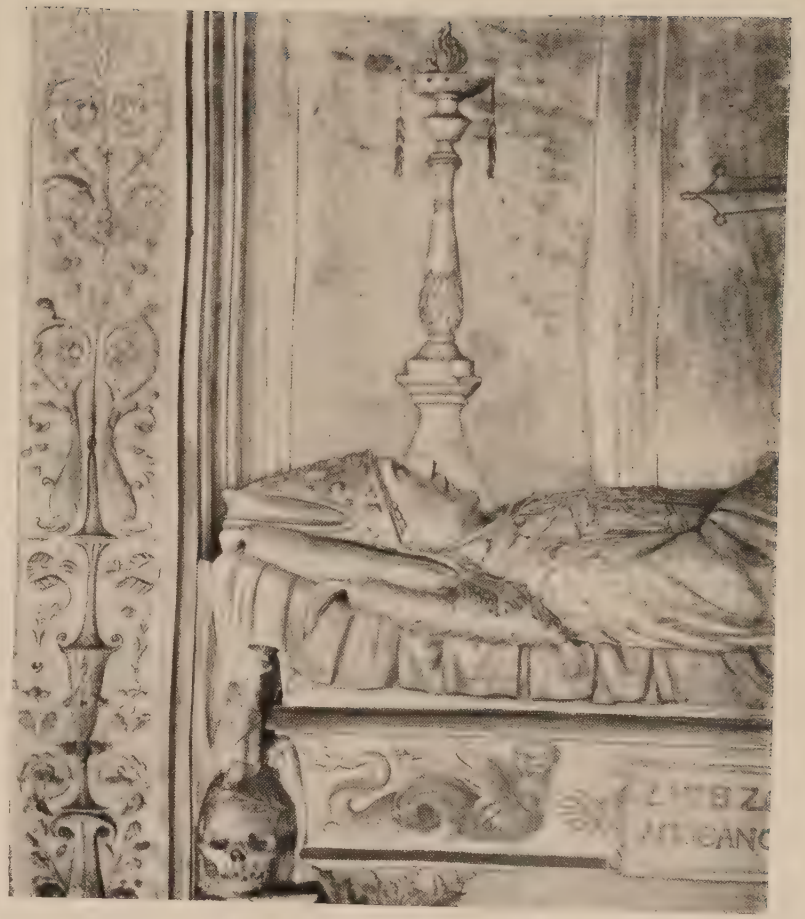

FIG. 24.—SCARAMPO (S. LORENZO IN DAMASO).

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folds and the stiff handling which belong to Paolo's earlier art. The figure is, as it were, rounded and projects, giving little idea of the relaxation of the limbs in death, and the gentle flow of the soft draperies over them. The face, however, is very beautiful, and in its clear-cut beauty and calm gives little suggestion of the fierce being whom it portrays. The dress is richly worked, with great and evident attention to detail, and with the determination to miss no fact of the luxurious Cardinal's apparel. The result is a lack of simplicity, and, to a great extent also, even a lack of the very richness which was sought; and the face, which is handsome and reveals nothing of the cruelty[1] which we know of, is somewhat lost in the detail. The figure cannot be placed in the first rank of sculpture, but is of great interest in connection with Paolo's art.

So far as these works enable us to realize a style, we find in them an art which represents a growth from the stonecutter's level of the previous century to that of the sculptor with his foot on the threshold of the Renascence, yet still viewing the antique with the heavy and somewhat uninspired eyes of the Roman *marmorarii*. The forms lack vitality and interest. They are stiff and stony, though not without dignity. There is no coaxing of the

[1] It is interesting to remember that the habit of allowing the dead to lie in state, with the face exposed, gave to sculptors of the fifteenth century the opportunity of studying the face in death as it was to appear upon the tomb; and death, which smooths away the traces of pain, removes also the other characteristics which life has stamped upon the features. Portraits from the life, such as Mino's Salutati, were in the fifteenth century somewhat rare.

marble into the sensitive vital forms of beauty which alone can make sculpture an expression of deep human interest. The new wine of Tuscan art seems hardly yet to have been poured even into the old bottles of Roman art. To realize this to the full it must be remembered that when Paolo set up his St. Paul, which now stands on the Ponte S. Angelo, the statues of Or San Michele and the Campanile and Duomo of Florence were already weather-stained in their niches, but their influences had not yet reached to Rome.

This verdict would hardly be challenged by those who, accepting Paolo Romano as Paolo di Mariano di Tuccio Taccone, read his life as closing in somewhere near the date of his will (1470), and at any rate before 1473. For in that latter year his son Francesco, who is about to buy a house in the Macello dei Corvi, describes himself in a document as 'filii pupilli et heredis condam [quondam] Magistri Mariani tutii Taccone.' The expression 'quondam Magister Marianus' shows that the latter was dead in 1473.

But in 1907, in the pages of *L'Arte*, the writer Paolo Giordani published certain documents which he had copied from the notes of a well-known student no longer alive, which were said to exist in the archives of the Sancta Sanctorum. The first of these, dated 1484, purported that the monument of Pietro Mellini, the great jurist, in Sta. Maria Popolo was done by 'Paulus Marmorarius de Urbe cum discipulo suo Ioxphoro' (Giovanni Cristoforo, who was then nineteen years old). To Cristoforo it was given to make 'ingenuas tabulas

pilastrasque qui simulacrum sufferunt' (the plaques and pilasters which once flanked the recess in which the figure lay); but the figure is said to be from the hand 'Supradicti Pauli de Urbe.' On November 14 of the following year, 1485, comes the contract signed by Paolo for the beautiful tomb of Marcantonio Albertoni, also in the Popolo Church. Paolo assigns the work of the tomb to 'Xristophoro de Urbe et Nicolao, sculptoribus, ut efficerent benignâ arte ac virtute. Statuam jacentem Nicolaus infrascriptus faciet: Xristophorus ornamenta.' There follows a provision that, lest the work should be injured by their youthful ardour—'ne juvenili ardore opus conficeretur'—Paul should supervise the work. The force of the documents, if they be accepted, cannot be overestimated. They seem to show that we must at once make severance between the personalities of Paolo di Mariano Taccone, who was dead in 1473, and Paolo di Nisio de Urbe (Romano), who was still alive in 1485; and we should find from them this latter in his old age delegating to his pupils Nicolò and Cristoforo Romano definite portions of important works proceeding from his *bottega*. And we should, further, have to reconstruct the life of this same Paolo de Urbe, working, so to speak, backwards from the standing-point of the Mellini and Albertoni monuments, so as to include a large group of monuments presently to be dealt with, which would thus become attached to his name and to his workshop. New difficulties might be created, but some old ones would disappear.

But since Paolo Giordani published the text of the

documents in *L'Arte*, search has been made for the originals in the archives of 'Sancta Sanctorum,' with the result that they are not forthcoming. On the other hand, Professor Fedele has produced thence a document which gives the name of Jacopo d' Andrea da Firenze as the author of the Marcantonio Albertoni monument. We are thus reduced to a choice of alternatives—(1) That the documents once existed and were copied, being, in fact, genuine evidences; (2) that the documents were a pure invention or forgery, which misled first the owner of the notes and afterwards Paolo Giordani, who copied them. With regard to the first alternative, if we accept it, we must suppose that the documents have since been lost or misplaced. We have, then, to explain the verified document produced by Professor Fedele, ascribing the authorship to Jacopo d'Andrea da Firenze, which seems to be in direct conflict with that which assigns the figure of Albertoni to Niccolò di Paolo and the pilasters to Gian. Cristoforo Romano, no mention being made of Jacopo d' Andrea. The only resort in that case would be to suppose that Jacopo, another member of Paolo's workshop, was responsible for the architecture and general scheme of the tomb. If we accept the second alternative, we have to ask what purpose could be served by the wilful fabrication of the two documents, in this circumstantial form and with details which fit fairly well with what we now know of the life of Gian. Cristoforo, though it was not known at the time when the fabrication of the documents must have taken place. All, however, that can be said,

until we obtain further light on this strange conflict of documents, is that it would be unsafe to ground any arguments with regard to final authorship upon either. Future discoveries may clear up this and many another difficulty connected with the authorship of the tombs in Rome.

CHAPTER VI

ANDREA BREGNO—MINO DA FIESOLE—GIOVANNI DALMATA —LUIGI CAPPONI

During the latter half of the fifteenth century many Lombard marble-workers of different grades were to be found in and about the Roman States. Many of these men probably came originally from the villages of the marble districts of the Northern Lakes, where, at a centre like Campione, for example, men were born, as at Settignano, with chisels in their hands. These men received their training in the workshops of Milan or Bergamo, Verona or Cremona, or even of Bologna. And a certain number of them, passing by Tuscany, where Pisa and Florence and other towns were already more than equal to the demand, went to Viterbo or the towns of the Abruzzi, or to Rome itself. They varied from the merest stonecutters to masters such as Andrea Bregno, of Osteno, on Lake Lugano, whose influence on the sculpture of Rome was destined to be considerable. Of the facts of his life we know from the little monument in the passage to the Casanatense Library, which opens out of the Minerva cloister, that he died, at eighty-five, in 1506, which brings his birth to 1421. The ascertained dates of his life are few. Every artist's career that unfolds itself in the great

city makes us more and more lament the absence of some Roman Vasari, even with his blunders. In 1473 Bregno signed the altar in the inner sacristy of the Popolo, done for Cardinal Roderigo Borgia (Alexander VI.); in or soon after 1476 he did the tomb of Pietro Ferrici († 1478), now in the cloisters of the Minerva, and,[1] with Giovanni Dalmata, that of Cardinal Roverella († 1475) in S. Clemente. In 1479, or after, he did, with Mino da Fiesole, the beautiful tomb of Cristoforo della Rovere († 1478), nephew of Sixtus IV., and in 1481 he signed the small altar dossale which forms the centre of the great tabernacle in the Piccolomini Chapel at Siena. This work was done for Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini (afterwards Pius III.), whose subsequent commission for the statues of the niches to Michelangelo forms a somewhat sorry page in the life of the great artist.[2] The other works in Rome proceeding from him and from his workshop have to be filled in on the evidences of style. They are numerous, for in the last quarter of the century his *bottega* was apparently the most busy and prosperous in Rome. Himself an artist of worth, whose art, devoid of genius, yet commands respect through its soundness and its sense of beauty, he seems to have had the qualities which make for the successful management of a great and productive studio. The mere fact that he allied with himself two such fellow-workers as Mino da Fiesole and Giovanni

[1] Venturi does not accept this view (see details of tomb under S. Clemente).

[2] See the writer's 'Michelangelo,' p. 197. Methuen and Co., London, 1908.

Dalmata, to say nothing of the many nameless but capable workers whose chisels he employed, is testimony to this quality in the Lombard-Roman master. He was a man some ten years older than Mino da Fiesole (who was born in 1430), and the fact that the earliest known work of Bregno is a ciborium, dated 1464, in the church of his native village of Osteno suggests that he had not then left Milan; and as Mino is known to have made his first visit of one year to Rome in 1463,[1] the above suggestion implies that Mino had come and gone before Bregno's arrival. The earliest work which is attributed to Bregno in Rome is of the date of 1465, the fine tomb of the French Cardinal D'Albret (Lebretto), of royal blood and of blameless life, who lies in Araceli. This would suggest that or the preceding year as the date of his arrival in Rome. There is, however, no work in the years immediately following which can be attributed to him, but we find in S. Gregorio an altar dossale, with the date 1469, which is by some writers considered as an early work from his hand. The word 'early' can, of course, be used only relatively to his career in Rome, since in 1469 he would have been forty-eight years old, and his style should by that time have become fairly well determined. It is a charming work, full of quaint and graceful fancies, radiant little visions of the joy of life, and it certainly has points of coincidence with the figures of the Lebretto tomb, whose St. Michael is of the same family as the little

[1] In which year he completed for Cardinal d'Estouteville the shrine of St. Jerome in Sta. Maria Maggiore, whose reliefs are to be seen in the Industrial Museum, Via Capo le Case.

SEDENTE PAVLO II
LVDOVICVS DE LEBRITTO REGIVS SANGVIS
CRVM PETRI ET MARCELLINI PRESBITER
CARDINALIS NOBILITATE ANIMI INNOCENTIA
ET FIDE PRAECLARVS SACRI APOSTOLICI SENATVS
AMOR ET DELICIAE HOC MONIMENTO CONDITVS EST
M CCCC LXX DIE III SEPTEMBRIS

FIG. 25.—LOUIS D'ALBRET (ARACELI).

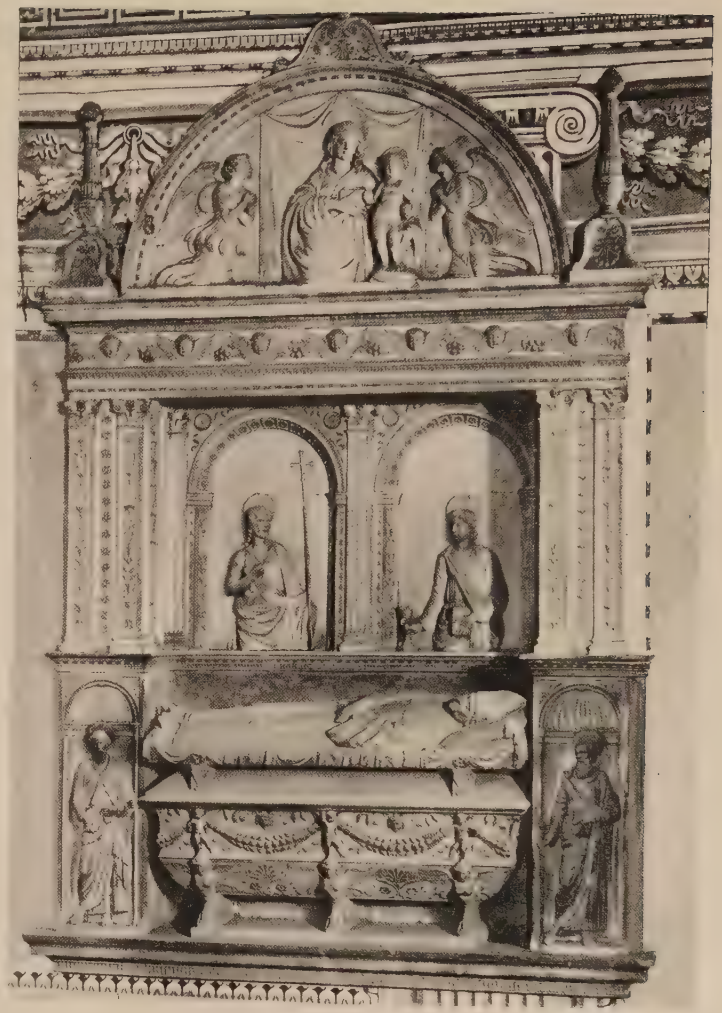

Photo *Alinari.*

FIG. 26.—GIANBATTISTA SAVELLI (ARACELI).

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St. George of the S. Gregorio tabernacle. Again, the little overfattened cherubs of this latter work are certainly similar in type to those of Bregno's signed altar of the Popolo sacristy, done in 1473. Yet one seeks in vain in the Lombard's other works for the charming play of fancy which gives to this its special note of almost gay vitality. It would be far easier to feel at ease as to the attribution if Bregno, in 1469, had been a much younger artist.

The decade from 1470 to 1480 was marked for the greater part of its course by the presence in Rome of Mino da Fiesole and Giovanni Dalmata. These two, with Bregno, make up a trio whose names appear in various combinations, though it is not known that the three were ever engaged in one work. In 1471 Mino and Giovanni were engaged on the tomb of Paul II. In 1476 Bregno and Giovanni[1] shared the making of the Roverella tomb in S. Clemente. In 1477 Bregno and Mino worked together on the tomb of Pietro Riario in the SS. Apostoli and on the Cristoforo della Rovere in the Popolo. The names of other artists who worked with Bregno are unknown to us, but the presence of several hands is evident, as, indeed, was inevitable where so much work fell to one studio.

In Andrea Bregno we have a sculptor who displayed no great gifts of imagination, and produced no work which has come down to us as one of the accepted masterpieces of Italian art, but who nevertheless claims rank as a craftsman of high merit, and as a designer who, by virtue of a certain dignity and reserve and by a saving sense of

[1] There is no documentary evidence in support of this view, which is not accepted by all authorities.

proportion, steered clear of the fantastic unrestfulness which far more capable men, such as Andrea Sansovino, display. The fault of Bregno lies in a tendency to heaviness and repetition of the same design, till the result becomes monotonous or even mechanical. He was content when he had arrived at a satisfactory type to use it with little variation, except when a Mino da Fiesole was working by his side. The life and character of the man for whom the tomb was prepared seem to have had no share in inspiring the sculptor with a thought. Warrior or humanist, man of letters or man of luxury, it would be impossible to divine which it may be who lies sleeping on the sarcophagus, surrounded by the Virtues or the saints, who are carved there impartially for all alike. Here, indeed, the tenant or his friends probably had their say, and the charge in no way lies against Bregno alone. It lies against most of the fifteenth-century sculptors in Rome. But granting that the sculptor was not free to express either by clear sign or by hidden allegory what thoughts were in his mind, it should have been possible, even omitting all connection between the life and the tomb, to have varied the artistic motive, or at least the artistic setting and ornaments.

The tomb of Cardinal Alanus († 1474) in Sta. Prassede may be taken as a good type of Bregno's work, without the assistance of Mino or Dalmata. This Alain Cetivo was a Breton of ancient family, once Bishop of Quimper and afterwards of Avignon, a man of mark in his day, of no small force of character and boldness of speech—so, at least, Paul II. had found when he and his Cardinals were

at words concerning the latter's retirement from his promise to observe the celebrated 'capitulations,' by which the Curia had sought to limit the Papal power.[1] So, too, had Bessarion the humanist found when, at the Conclave which elected Callixtus III. (1455), the feeling seemed to be towards Bessarion. Alain spoke with Breton bluntness: 'Shall we elect as Head of the Latin Church a Greek who has hardly yet had time to shave his beard?' Bessarion hastened to deprecate all idea of his own election, and the choice fell upon the first of the Borgias. Alanus became Protector of the Order of St. Dominic, and took no small share in the strange battle which raged between them and the Franciscans on the subject of the Blood of Christ. He was a man of many embassies and of one abortive Crusade—that of Callixtus. Here was choice enough of motives for an artist without fear of falling into deep waters. There is, however, nothing in the monument to suggest any single point of all this. Opportunities seem to have counted for nothing. A Pietro Riario sleeps a sleep as calm and as saintly as a Lebretto or a Capranica, and you would not guess a trait in the life or character of either.

Alain's tomb is a very favourable example of Bregno's art, though it lacks the quality which gives to the Alibret tomb its special place amongst Roman monuments. The St. Michael and the St. Francis of the Araceli tomb are, indeed, amongst the most satisfying bits of fifteenth-

[1] Cardella's version of the matter is that Alain told Barbo in Consistory that he had spent twenty-four years of life in artifices, which had only caught the Cardinals once.

century work in Rome. The two saints on Alain's tomb fall far short of them. The attribution of the Lebretto to Bregno has been doubted, but a comparison of the design of the sarcophagus with that of Alain seems to confirm the view that both were from one workshop. The fashion of the label, which, strange to say, in each case has remained without inscription or elegy, is similar, carrying at each end a honeysuckle ornament, which again appears in the older De Levis sarcophagus of Sta. Maria Maggiore. Again, on either side of the label in each instance appears a festoon of flowers, with an ornament whose meaning I have hitherto failed to obtain. It resembles more than anything else a helmet of Saracenic shape, and at first sight suggests the possibility of an allusion to the fact of the Cardinal having taken part in a warlike expedition or in a Crusade. But the same ornament is found in the tomb of Alibret, who was no warrior, and in the Ottaviano Furnaro (undated) in S. Agostino ; in the Sclafenato, in the same place ; in the Coca (1477), in the Minerva ; in the G. Battista Milizio (1507), in Araceli ; and in some other examples.[1] I am not aware that any of these claim distinction in work such as belonged to Vitelleschi, Scarampo, Fortiguerra, or Julius II., nor that they showed any special zeal for the Crusades. It is noticeable that in

[1] It is found also in the tomb of Francesco Carafa († 1470), by Agnello di Fiore, in the Church of S. Domenico at Naples, and upon the façade of the church, among other warlike insignia, at Bolsena, which Cardinal Giovanni dei Medici (Leo X.) dedicated ; also in the Cesi monument at Narni. I do not remember to have seen it in classical work.

SELLITE XYSTO IIII
ALANVS EPS SABINENSIS EC RO CARDINALIS
NOBILISS BRITONIBVS COETTIVORV GENTE NATVS
ILLVSTRI LEGATIONE AD GALLOS PRO FIDE FVNCTVS
CVIVS VITA EXEMPLVM VIRTVTIS
ACTIONES AVTEM PRIVATIM ET PVBLICE SALVTARES FVERE
HOC MONIMENTO CONDITVS EST
VIX AN XVI MEN VIII DIES XV
M CCCC LXXXIIII

Photo *Moscioni.*

FIG. 27.—ALANUS CETIVUS (STA. PRASSEDE).

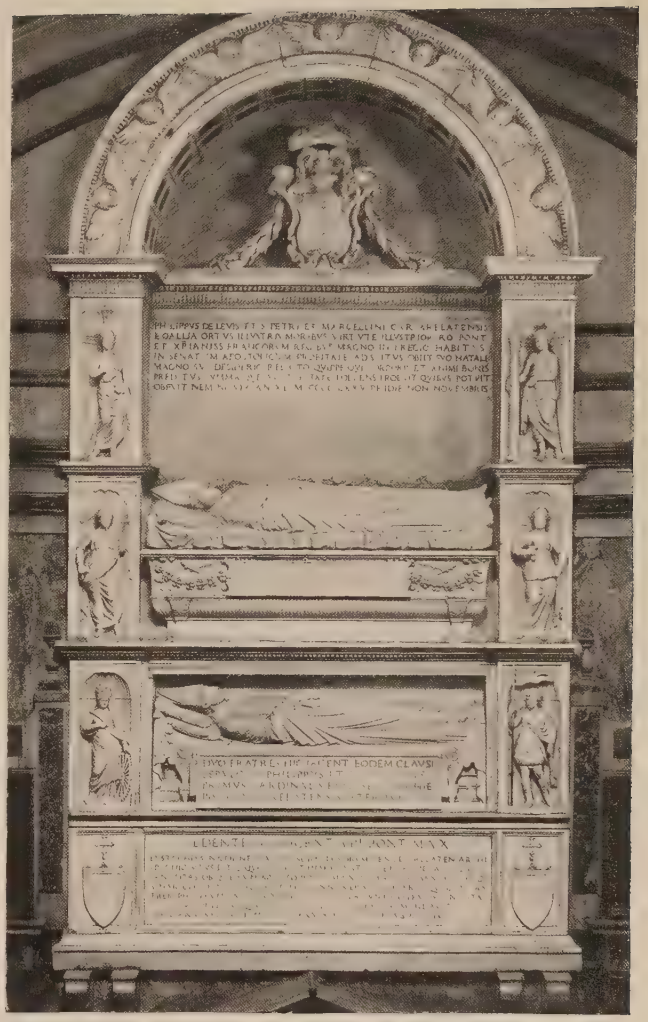

Photo *Anderson.*

FIG. 28.—BROTHERS DE LEVIS (STA. MARIA MAGGIORE).

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most cases the emblem, in slightly varying shape, is found on tombs which seem to belong to Bregno's workshop. But in this particular shape—having the two pendants united at the bottom by a fillet—it is, I think, confined to the Alibret and Alain. Where records are so scarce even an identification mark so apparently trivial as this is not without its value, though it is not safe to overrate that value, since certain ornaments—unmeaning often enough —became the common property of all the workshops. In the early days, however, of the use of an ornament—and the Alibret is the earliest use of this emblem which I can find—the likelihood of so striking a form having become the property of two workshops is obviously smaller, and the clue consequently more valuable.

Andrea Bregno's recognized earliest helper in Rome—Giovanni Duknovich,[1] of Trau, in Dalmatia, known as Dalmata—is thought to have been born in 1445, though that date can only be accepted with much reserve, since, if it be correct, the works attributed to him would be precociously early. Thus Fabriczy assigns to him, in 1460, 'while in the *bottega* of Paolo,' a relief in the portal of the Cortile del Maresciallo in the Vatican. That would, if he was born in 1445, have been accomplished at the age of fifteen, and in 1466 he is thought to have worked on the façade of the beautiful little *tempietto* at Vicovaro. If either of these claims be admissible, which is doubtful, it would be necessary to put his birth year somewhat earlier than 1445. Fabriczy makes him the helper, in 1466, of Bregno in the Tebaldi tomb in the Minerva. I cannot

[1] So called by Matthias Corvinus in a document of 1490.

myself see the work of either man in that monument. But the arms of Paul II. over the portal of Palazzo Venezia are given to him with more probability, and about the year 1470 he is found at work with Mino da Fiesole for the tabernacle now to be found in the sacristy passage of the adjoining Church of S. Marco. In this work the two side reliefs are by Dalmata, the centre by Mino. In the next two years we find him joined with the same sculptor in the tomb of Paul II., of which the dismembered remains are in the crypt of the Vatican. Dalmata was responsible for the reliefs of the Eternal Father in Glory, the Resurrection, the Creation of Eve, the relief statue of Hope (Speranza), and for a portion of frieze, with *putti* holding a garland, now in the Louvre. A few years later he was at work with Bregno[1] upon the tomb of Bishop Roverella († 1476) in S. Clemente, in which the central relief of the Virgin and Child is his, as well as the relief above it of the Eternal Father in act of blessing and the two angels standing at the head and foot of the sarcophagus. The relief of the Madonna is one of the most beautiful pieces of monumental sculpture in Rome. It partakes of the type of the Speranza of the Paul II. Both may be said to show how strongly the influence of the Florentine sculptor had passed for the time into the spirit of the Dalmatian. Our Lady here is a Tuscan, not a Roman mother, and though not of Mino's hand, she is of his spirit. Here it may be convenient to point out a special

[1] A. Venturi prefers to consider Luigi Capponi as Dalmata's fellow-worker in the Roverella monument. He also sees Capponi's hand in the Ammanati of S. Agostino cloister.

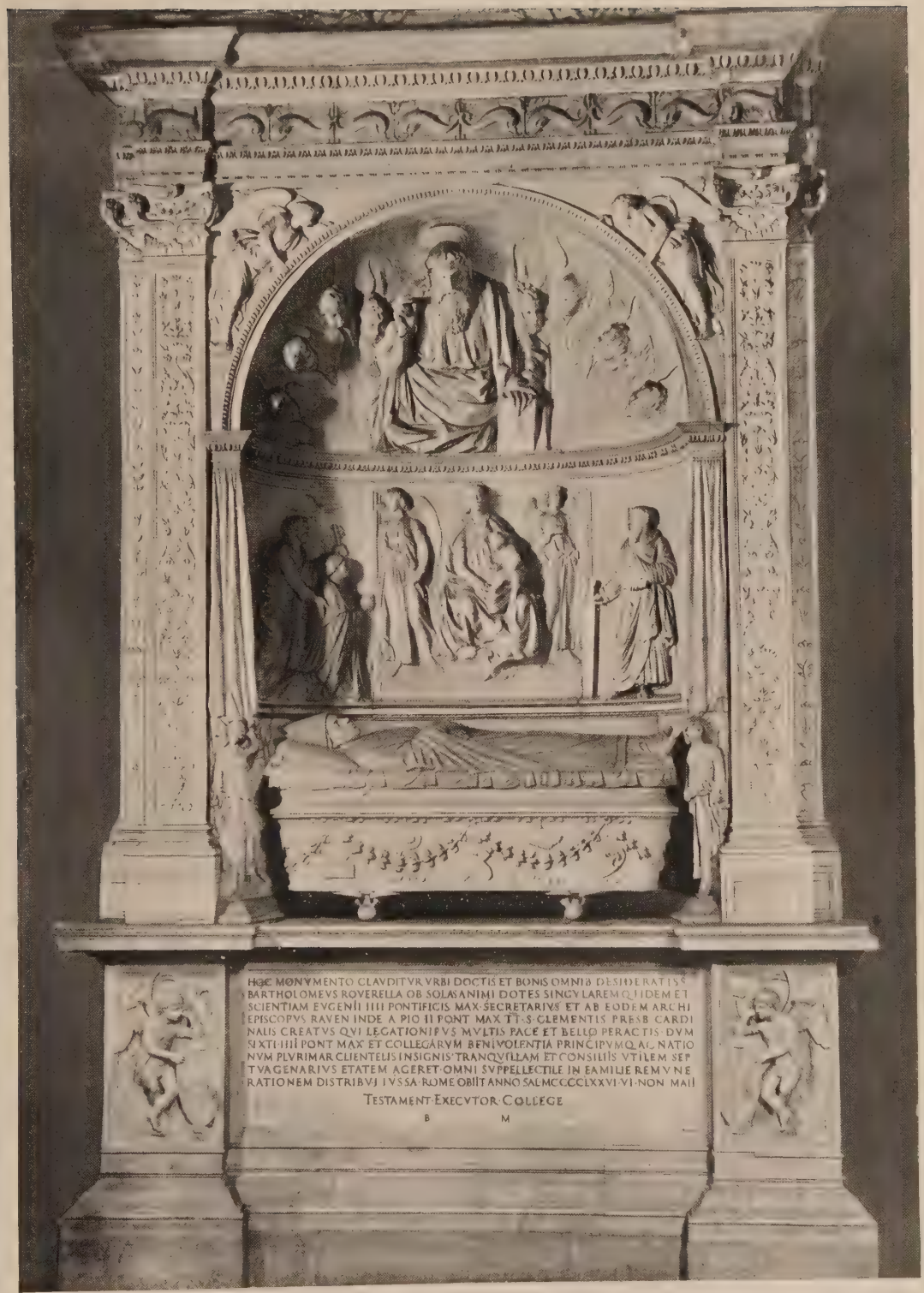
HOC MONVMENTO CLAVDITVR VRBI DOCTIS ET BONIS OMNIB DESIDERATISS
BARTHOLOMEVS ROVERELLA OB SOLAS ANIMI DOTES SINGVLAREM QUIDEM ET
SCIENTIAM EVGENII IIII PONTIFICIS MAX SECRETARIVS ET AB EODEM ARCHI
EPISCOPVS RAVENNINDE A PIO II PONT MAX TIT S CLEMENTIS PRESB CARDI
NALIS CREATVS QVI LEGATIONIBVS MVLTIS PACE ET BELLO PERACTIS DVM
SIXTI IIII PONT MAX ET COLLEGARVM BENIVOLENTIA PRINCIPVMQ AC NATIO
NVM PLVRIMAR CLIENTELIS INSIGNIS TRANQVILLAM ET CONSILIIS VTILEM SEP
TVAGENARIVS ETATEM AGERET OMNI SVPPELLECTILE IN FAMILIE REMVNE
RATIONEM DISTRIBVI IVSSA ROMEOBIIT ANNO SALMCCCCLXXVI VI NON MAII
TESTAMENT EXECVTOR COLLEGE
B M

Photo *Alinari.*

FIG. 29.—BARTOLOMMEO ROVERELLA (S. CLEMENTE).

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mannerism of Dalmata, which is useful at times in determining his work. In carving the folds of his drapery, especially where they are caught up or broken in their fall, he employs a peculiar bulging triangular form, somewhat bulky, and, when used in large masses, unpleasing. The mannerism repeats itself even in the work of his old age at Ancona—the Gianelli († 1509) tomb in the cathedral —and again at Trau in St. Thomas[1] and St. John Evangelist. The Roverella monument displays this peculiarity in a marked degree.

Dalmata, at the end of the same decade, did the tomb of Cardinal Eroli († 1479), whose sarcophagus remains in the darkness of the Vatican crypt, and portions of an unknown tomb, of which a relief is to be seen in the little vestibule of S. Agostino. His importance as a sculptor will be recognized from the fact that in 1480-81 he was, with Mino da Fiesole, employed on the cancellata of white marble in the Sistine Chapel, at the time when Botticelli, Ghirlandaio, Perugino, Cosimo Rosselli, and others were engaged upon the great series of frescoes which line the walls. But from that time the evidence of his activity in Rome ceases, unless a lunette in the Appartamento Borgia be from his hand (1492). He had been called away from Rome to work in Hungary for Matthias Corvinus, and returned, if at all, for brief visits. His last work of importance is found at Ancona, the tomb of Beato Girolamo Gianelli († 1509), a work which, even when due allowance has been made for the weight of years, tells us plainly that we are not dealing with the creation of a

[1] Known to me only by photograph.

great sculptor in his weary old age, but rather of one who has been able, as so often happens, when under the immediate influence of some master like Mino, to imbibe his spirit and receive impressions, which for the time inspire his work, but which pass away with the presence of the master. One might quote many instances of the same phenomenon. Dalmata, working with Mino, has been even mistaken at times for Mino. Dalmata, when he has fallen back upon the bedrock of his own original self—as in the Gianelli tomb—is hard to think of even as Dalmata.

And yet there is good reason to believe that Mino da Fiesole was by no means so highly esteemed in Rome while he was working there—a man of first rank amongst men of the second—as in his own Florence, where he was but one of many whose claims were as great or greater. He appears in Rome in 1463-64, probably at the summons of D'Estouteville, for whom he did in Sta. Maria Maggiore the altar of St. Jerome, whose reliefs are preserved in the Museo Industriale.[1] To him also has been attributed the high-altar of the same church, of which the reliefs, with a Madonna signed OPUS MINI, are now built into the walls of the chapel, behind the high-altar. These reliefs have been a recognized difficulty among critics. The question of their authorship would need greater space than can here be given to it. It must be enough at this point to say that they present in many respects so strong a contrast to the other attested reliefs of Mino da Fiesole that all who have dealt with that artist's works have felt

[1] Via Capo le Case. The whole question is discussed at greater length in Chapter VIII., which deals with Mino del Reame.

the need of accounting for them. I am myself disposed to accept the explanation which removes their authorship from Mino da Fiesole and gives it to Mino del Reame. The mention of these reliefs, however, draws attention to an argument which has been used to explain them. It is said, and truly said, that Mino da Fiesole's work in Rome shows a different quality from that which represents him in Florence, having less of refinement and dainty quaintness and more endeavour to attain to a Roman robustness. This must be admitted, and it must be admitted, further, that in losing something of our Tuscan Mino we have not been gainers. There is no work by him in Rome which carries quite the same special flavour as his tombs in the Badia of Florence or as the Salutati tomb at Fiesole—his masterpieces. The stronger, even grosser, air of Rome was not favourable to the display of an art which was redeemed from a charge of weakness only by its exquisite refinement. And Mino's work needs, more than that of any sculptor of his time, to be at its very best, and to be completely in possession of itself, to be Mino at all. Mino at his second or third best is apt to become merely a bundle of mannerisms.[1] Mino, mixed with the work of another man, is apt to sink somewhat to the level of that other. And this last was his fate in Rome. No monument of first importance (save that of Tornabuoni) was entrusted to him singly, and we have therefore nothing in that city which we can think of by the side of the Conte Ugo or the Bernardo Giugni of the Badia of Florence. Probably the Francesco ('Cecco') Tornabuoni († 1480) in

[1] For example, the reliefs of the pulpit of Prato.

the Minerva, of which only the lower portion survives, would, if we could have seen it in its completion, have come nearest to that loving and intimate quality which belongs to his Florentine work. Here, in a work ordered by a Florentine, the commission was wholly to his own hand, and no Bregno nor Dalmata was joined to the task.

But before Mino carved in 1480 the figure of the young sleeping Florentine for the chapel in the Minerva which Ghirlandaio had frescoed for the rich Florentine banker, Giovanni Tornabuoni, he had taken a share in other memorable monuments. His first visit to Rome had been in 1463-64. Returning in 1470, he was for the next ten years settled in Rome, with occasional visits, of more or less duration, to Florence. The most important of his commissions was that which the heirs of Pietro Barbo (Paul II.) placed in his and Dalmata's hands. An engraving of this tomb, given by Ciaconius, shows it to have been ornate even to pompousness, certainly to unrestfulness. Upon a plinth of *putti* holding garlands and medallions rested a base divided into five panels, with reliefs of Faith (Mino), Hope (Dalmata), and Charity (Mino), with the Creation of Eve (Dalmata) and the Temptation[1] (Mino). Two highly ornamented columns supported a cornice and frieze, above which a lunette containing the Last Judgment (Dalmata's pupils) was bounded by two concentric bands of rich ornament. The four Evangelists stood in niches at the sides of the columns. The sarcophagus, with the figure of the Pope, rested within the

[1] The relief of the Temptation was removed at a later date as a concession to modesty.

rectangular recess between the columns. A relief of the Resurrection filled the space of the recess.

The engraving in Ciaconius corresponds well enough with the surviving fragments to justify us in accepting it as trustworthy in the main with regard to those portions which have perished, and with regard, also, to the general design. We seem to see from it that, in aiming at opulence, the sculptors threw away something better. In the desire to express the magnificent something of greater value has been missed. The ornament is overloaded. No resting-place, no quiet space, has been left for the wearied eye, which therefore, as is inevitable, fails to take in the richness of the ornament itself. It is an unwritten law which every century has proved and every century has violated—that he who would have his ornament show rich must be content to use it sparingly. It is possible that the fragments as we see them now, mere *disjecta membra* of the sumptuous Papal tomb, may, after all, be more impressive than in their original combination. It is only just to Mino and to Dalmata to say that this same opulence which we seem to recognize as the aim of the artists was after Paul's own heart, and not unsuitable as an expression of the character of the vain and handsome Pope, who, as common report, true or false, had it, had even desired to enter upon his Papacy with the title of Formosus, and was wont to appear in public in Rome with his face rouged. The sorry darkness of the Vatican crypt is the end which Bramante and the Fates have appointed to the sumptuous tomb of the splendour-loving Venetian Pope. It is difficult to ask the reader to feel

a deep interest in a work of sculpture which he can only realize through a flashlight photograph.

Mino had scarcely finished his share in the tomb of Paul II. when he was called on to prepare that of the warrior Cardinal Niccolò Forteguerra († 1474), who enjoys the distinction of owning two memorials, each designed by a great Florentine artist. One of these, from the design and workshop of Verrocchio, is to be seen in the Church of S. Domenico at Pistoja, while the other, whose fragments have been set up in Sta. Cecilia in Trastevere, was from the design, and mainly from the chisel, of Mino da Fiesole. Forteguerra, a native of Pistoja, where year by year to this day his benefactions are commemorated in the Church of S. Domenico, had in him as much of the born soldier as Vitelleschi or Scarampo, but was unlike either of those ferocious and capable leaders in that he had neither cruelty nor vulgar vice in his nature, and that, though he wore armour both as General and Admiral, his life was without reproach, and had in it something of the saintliness, but with a more soldierly texture, of a St. Louis. The stress of his life had fallen in the days of Callixtus III., Pius II., and Paul II. He was a man, says Cardella, of a simple life and 'of an angelic modesty.' When Nicolas V. gave him the task of rooting out the brigand leaders of the Campagna, of whom Count Eversus, of Anguillara, was the most notable, if not the most noble, Forteguerra found a task after his own heart. Once assured of the righteousness of his undertaking, he was not the man to shrink from strenuous measures. In a few weeks he had destroyed thirteen of the rock castles

FIG. 30.—NICCOLÀ FORTEGUERRA (STA. CECILIA).

FIG. 31.—FRANCESCO TORNABUONI (MINERVA).

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of these pests to society; the ruins of their strongholds still dot the Campagna. He received, as he deserved, the gratitude of the suffering Romans, and a little later was chosen by Pius II. to try his skill against a Condottiere of such fame as Sigismondo Malatesta, of Rimini. The contribution of Pius towards the campaign against this sacrilegious enemy, who was proof against excommunication and outlawry, had hitherto been, from the military point of view, more picturesque than practical. He had burnt two effigies of Sigismondo, 'excellent likenesses,' which Paolo Taccone had made, in the Piazza of St. Peter's. Forteguerra's methods were more direct, and though no great bloodshed occurred in the campaign which followed, he succeeded in bringing Sigismondo to terms. Once again Pius showed his confidence in his Cardinal-General by turning him, like Scarampo before him, into an Admiral. He was placed in command of the galleys for the future Crusade, which, like Pius himself, never got beyond Ancona. His deeds in days of peace were indeed better worth remembering. He devoted his sound common sense to works of usefulness, and his foundation of the first Monte di Pietà in Italy, for his native town of Pistoja, in itself justifies the memorial which Mino made.

The tomb in Sta. Cecilia has, like many others, undergone vicissitudes. Brought back at last from the outer portico, it was 'restored' to its present condition. But the restoration does not carry conviction. It is evident that portions have been utilized which did not belong to the tomb. Mino's hand can be seen only in the Madonna

and in the recumbent figure of Forteguerra. In the latter we have a method of treatment characteristic of the sculptor. If this tomb be compared with the Ugo of Anderberg in the Badia of Florence, it will be seen that in both instances Mino no longer places the figure on the sarcophagus itself, but makes it recline on a bier resting on supports above it. The bier, in the sculptor's mind, is formed of some kind of webbing, into which the body seems to sink, as in a shallow tray. The method was not originated by Mino; it will be found in other Tuscan work, such as the Carlo Marsuppini tomb of his master Desiderio, and in the Leonardo Bruni of Bernardo Rossellino, both in Sta. Croce. But it does not occur in any tomb in Rome before that of Forteguerra. An arrangement of the drapery of the bier should also be noticed. In all Roman tombs up to this time the drapery had been made to hang over the edge of the mattress, on which the body lies, in a short 'valance,' with vertical folds. But in the Forteguerra tomb (as in the Count Ugo, the Cecco Tornabuoni in the Minerva, and in all tombs in which Mino is responsible for the figure) the drapery runs in one long sweep from head to foot. The work, though less refined than the Florentine examples from Mino's chisel, is yet in advance of contemporary work in Rome. Unhappily, the coarse regilding which was applied when the tomb was restored sadly interferes with the pleasure of looking at it. The face of the Cardinal is a strong and expressive piece of portraiture—doubtless the soldier-saint was well known to Mino—and the sleeping figure is no longer a mere arrangement in stone, but a real and flexible

Photo *Alinari.*

FIG. 32.—MADONNA (TOMB OF PIETRO RIARIO, S.S. APOSTOLI).

Photo *Alinari.*

FIG. 33.—MADONNA (TOMB OF NICCOLÀ FORTEGUERRA, STA. CECILIA).

FIG. 34.—CARITÀ (TOMB OF PAUL II., GROTTE VATICANE).

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human figure rendered motionless by death. As one of the two sepulchral figures in Rome wholly executed by Mino, it is worthy of study. The Madonna who watches over the dead Cardinal is from Mino's chisel, yet hardly handled by him in his most intimate and subtle mood. Of the Madonnas remaining in Rome which can be accepted as the work of Mino may be mentioned this relief, the Madonna of the tomb of Pietro Riario in the Church of the Apostoli, and the relief in that of Cristoforo della Rovere in the Popolo. I am not able to accept either the Madonna of Sta. Maria Maggiore (in the choir) nor that of the Ferrici tomb in the Minerva cloister. Three other small Madonna reliefs unconnected with monuments are also genuine works from his hand—one in the sacristy of Sta. Cecilia, one in the hospital of the Lateran, and one in the hospital of S. Giacomo degli Incurabili.[1] The Madonnas of his Roman period are built, for the most part, in a stronger and firmer, but not in a sweeter, mould than those of his earlier Florentine day. And in endeavouring to pass, so to speak, away from his proper self, he forces us to see his limitations, while, at the same time, he forces us to form a truer conception of his real strength. For that strength lay really in portraiture—in such work as the Salutati of Fiesole, in the Rinaldo di Luna, in the Giovanni dei Medici. There is no undoubted bust from his hand which is not of a high order. In the Salutati he might rank with Holbein. He

[1] The last-named pair have been removed from their respective positions, and were, in the spring of 1907, in the private room of the Director of the Hospital of Santo Spirito.

is not, though it may be hard to accept a view which contradicts the received opinion of him, an idealist—one who follows τὴν ἰδεὰν—but a realist of no great range, profoundly touched with a Florentine sense of beauty. His weakness lies in the handling of the human figure, which he never had at his command. He had passed the borderline which lies between *scalpellaio* and *scultore* without the training of the *bottega*, and he never afterwards arrived at mastery of the nude. His saints are the instances of his attempts at the ideal, but his Madonnas are not in the true sense ideal. They are the embodiment of Tuscan maidenhood turned into marble by perhaps the tenderest hand—not even excepting that of his master, Desiderio—which ever touched a chisel. He is, in his limited range, supreme. There is no originating of great thought, no deep insight into the passion and pain of humanity. He is no setter forth of great allegory, but a recorder of the sweet truth of womanhood in a manner so special to himself as to constitute an originality in itself. But this is a bad man to mix in a common project with another artist of stronger, less refined, fibre. He is incapable, not from any lack of artistic loyalty, of adapting his art to that of another. He loses his own delicate perfection of touch without receiving any of the strength of his fellow-worker. And so it is not while he is working by the side of Bregno or of Dalmata that the Florentine can give us of his best.

Niccolò Forteguerra died in 1474. The same year saw the death in Rome of one whose career writes a strange chapter in the history of the Renascence Papacy. No

sooner had Francesco della Rovere, the skipper's son of Savona, ascended the throne as Sixtus IV. than he set about building up the family fortunes with a thoroughness and completeness which may be judged from the fact that before he went to his grave he had created among his nephews and great-nephews no less than seven Cardinals—Girolamo, Pietro, and Raffaele Riario, and of the della Rovere Cristoforo, Domenico, Basso, and Giulio, the latter destined to be Pope, as Julius II. The brothers of Sixtus, Raffaele and Giovanni della Rovere, of whom the latter once kept a store at Savona, not being Churchmen, were otherwise advanced. All these, except Girolamo, have tombs still existing in Rome.

On none of these did Sixtus bestow benefices and favours more lavishly than on Pietro Riario, the son of his sister Bianca, who became within a few years Patriarch of Constantinople, Archbishop of Florence, Seville, Mende, Spalatro, Valencia, Dia, Sinigaglia, and Treves, and the owner of several rich abbeys and other benefices. He had, indeed, earned the gratitude of his uncle by the signal services which he had rendered at the time of the Conclave which elected Sixtus. In 1471 he became Cardinal on the same day as his cousin Giulio della Rovere, and the two nephews of the Pope caused no little talk in Rome by a breach of etiquette which offended the Romans more than any mere breach of morals. They so far violated ancient custom as to appear in Rome the very next day in their Cardinals' hats, though the appointment had not yet been proclaimed. Of Pietro Riario at least this little piece of vanity was typical. His income from his pile of

benefices was 60,000 gold ducats a year, but he lived well outside of it. Men delighted to tell of his extravagances and his follies. The pearl-embroidered shoes of his mistress Teresa and what they had cost him were the talk of Rome. Pietro Riario was delighted that they should be. His journey to Milan as Legate to Sforza was more splendid than any royal progress; and when he undertook the entertainment of Leonora of Aragon, on her way to be married to Ercole d'Este at Ferrara, Rome looked for a surfeit of follies that should be worthy of the days of the Emperors, and she got them. The court of the Apostoli Palace was roofed in with a silken canopy, and for six days the Cardinal and his guests enjoyed a series of banquets, pageants, stage-plays, and buffooneries such as set the Roman world agape, and made a *locus classicus* in the annals of extravagance. The bill of fare is given in the pages of Ciaconius with apparent exactness; there had been none such in Rome since the days of Vitellius. A more astonishing menu was never set before a King. An item, one of many such, may suffice for an example—a colossal dove-pie, out of which there issued, in the light attire of Venus, a real live lady. Riario, sitting next the Duchess, listened with her and her suite to stage-plays which are not now thought, in the British Museum and similar libraries, sound consumption for the ordinary reader. Thirty mules laden with treasure crossed the stage. The meanest vessels set for the use of the guests in hall or chamber were of solid silver. '*Deh*,' says an old writer, 'to what uses do they put the sacred treasure of the Church!' Two years of such life were enough to bring

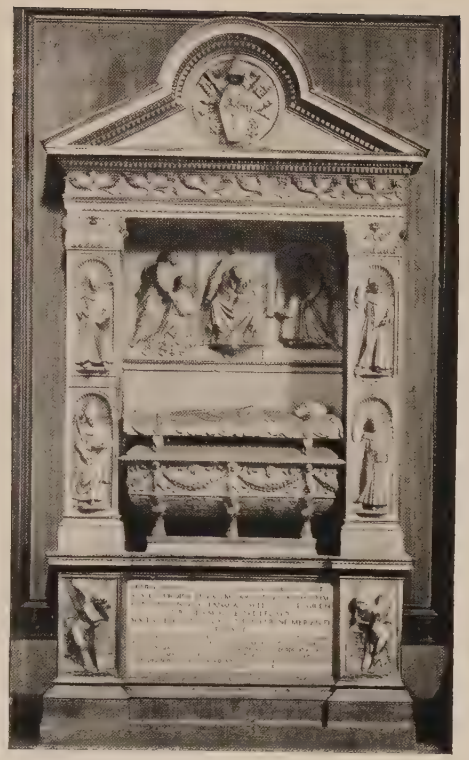

Photo *Alinari.*

FIG. 35.—PIETRO RIARIO (SS. APOSTOLI).

Photo *Alinari.*

FIG. 36.—CHRISTOFORO DELLA ROVERE (POPOLO).

Photo *Alinari.*

FIG. 37.—PIETRO GUGLIELMO ROCCA (POPOLO).

To face page 104.

the poor debauchee from his palace in the Apostoli to his grave in the church hard by. It was a life without a virtue, a character without a grace. He shone above his brother Girolamo, Count of Forli, only in that he had no cruelty, lacking any cause for it. It was a life that it had been well to forget; but the infatuation of Sixtus, who could see no faults in a nephew, and the skill of Bregno and Mino da Fiesole were to raise a monument which should force men to recall the life of this strange follower of St. Francis and his lady of the pearl-embroidered shoes.

The general design may safely be attributed to Bregno rather than to Mino. To the latter belongs the group of the Virgin and Child in the recess,[1] a work of much beauty, in high relief, whose effect is injured by the great depth of the recess, which casts so strong a shadow over the face and upper portion of the figure as to make it hardly visible during many hours of the day. Here at once one is brought face to face with one of the dangers which beset the attempt to design any great work of art in two separate hands. The relief which Mino carved is thrown back into darkness by the depth of Bregno's sarcophagus, which requires so deep a recess, the shadows being also intensified by the projection of the relief—a method used by Mino when he was endeavouring to adapt himself to the strong handling of his Roman *collaborateurs*, but absent or much modified in his Florentine work. It has been maintained by some writers that the relief of the Virgin and Child is the only portion directly due to Mino's chisel.[1] Certainly

[1] A. Venturi now assigns it to Bregno.

the figures of Pietro and another—probably his brother Girolamo—who kneel on either side before the Virgin, are by Bregno, to whom also are due the sarcophagus itself, with its massive ornament, the weeping *putti*, and the architectural portions of the tomb (the latter, doubtless, with workshop aid). But the saints in the niches are the work of Mino, though of Mino trying to bring himself into harmony with Bregno. The sphinxes which support the sarcophagus are also, in my opinion, carved by Mino, and I am strongly inclined to believe that the face of the dead Cardinal is from his chisel. It is true that there is inherent improbability in a subdivision of labour which gives the face of a figure, and the supports of a sarcophagus to one great artist, and the bulk of the detail to another; But we are without documents at present, and we do not know by what conditions Sixtus, who was at that moment deeply smitten with Florentine art, may have overridden studio custom. The face of the Cardinal is of high excellence as a portrait. We know it, indeed, from other sources.[1] Empty, weak, sensual, the face of this poor *roué* offered little to inspire the sculptor. He had killed himself before his life had even written its marks on the foolish, womanish features. It is just in the rendering of such a face that a sculptor's resources are taxed to the uttermost. The face, unattractive, forceless, is a master-

[1] The fresco of Melozzo da Forli in the Vatican collection becomes in this connection an historical document of an interest which is only equalled by its value as a work of art. Sixtus IV. sits before the kneeling Platina, his secretary and librarian. Giuliano della Rovere (Julius II.) and Pietro Riario are the other members of the group.

Photo *Alinari.*

FIG. 38.—PIETRO RIARIO (SS. APOSTOLI).

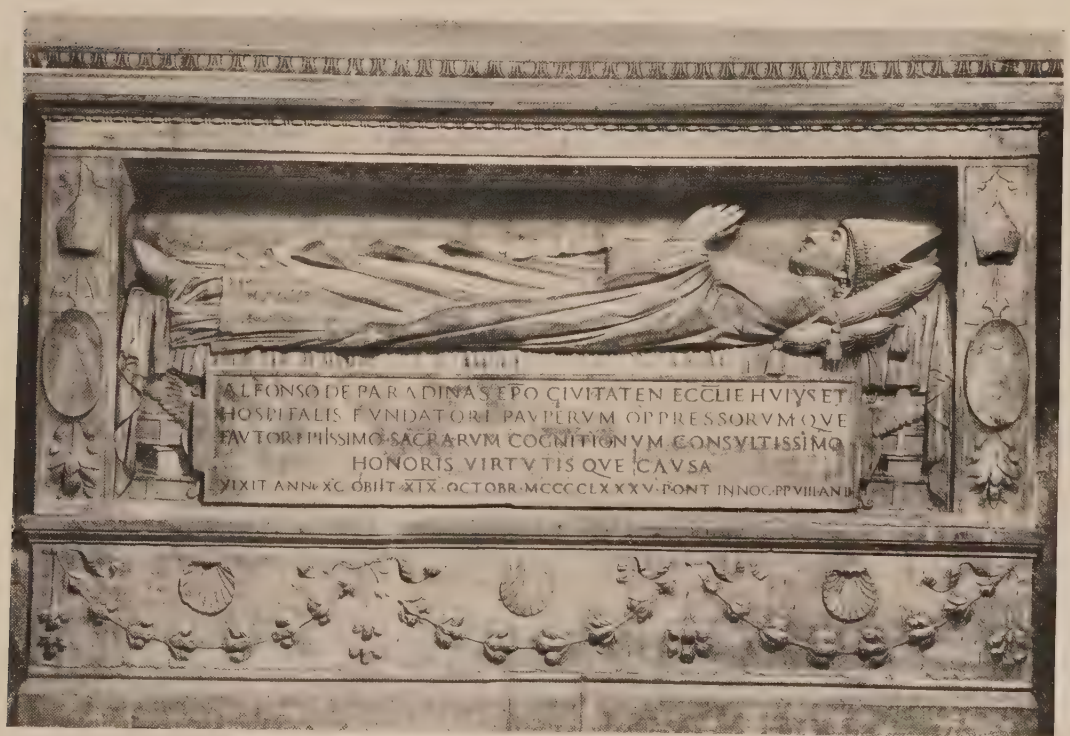
ALFONSO DE PARADINAS EPO CIVITATEN ECCLIE HVIVS ET
HOSPITALIS FVNDATORI PAVPERVM OPPRESSORVM QVE
FAVTORI PIISSIMO SACRARVM COGNITIONVM CONSVLTISSIMO
HONORIS VIRTVTIS QVE CAVSA
VIXIT ANN XC OBIIT XIX OCTOBR MCCCCLXXXV PONT INNOC PP VIII AN

Photo *Alinari.*

FIG. 39.—ALFONSO DE PARADINAS (STA. MARIA DI MONSERRATO).

To face page 106.

piece of portraiture, as great in its way—because its difficulties are greater—as that of Salutati. Proof, in the absence of document, is impossible, but the evidence of style here speaks strongly.

The year 1477, which saw the completion of the young Cardinal's tomb, saw also the death of another nephew of Sixtus, the Cardinal Cristoforo della Rovere, son of Giovanni. This Cristoforo was a man of very different character from that of his cousin Pietro Riario. Rome had no stories to tell of the quiet man whom they knew as Prefect of S. Angelo, and who had to wait longer than his cousin for the golden shower to descend upon him. When, in 1477, he was made Cardinal (of S. Vitale) on the same day as his cousin Girolamo Basso della Rovere (buried in the Popolo) and his nephew Raffaele Riario (whose tomb is in SS. Apostoli), he had but one month to live. For him also his uncle provided a resting-place in the Popolo, the church which next after the Apostoli was dearest to Sixtus. It was entrusted to the same hands as the monument of Pietro Riario, which had only just been set up; but in this case the handiwork of Mino is generally recognized only in the relief of the Virgin and Child—a good example of his Roman manner. Once more, however, I see in the face of the dead Cardinal the handiwork of Mino. The tomb, which is in the first chapel to the right on entering the church, is not less beautiful than that of Pietro Riario, from whose design it differs chiefly in that it presents the lunette or bow-shaped recess, whereas that of Riario has a pedimental tabernacle surmounting it. The general design of the monument

has been by some writers given to Mino. I should, however, unhesitatingly assign it to Bregno.

It is instructive to turn for a moment to the engagements of Mino da Fiesole during these years. The mere dates of tombs on which he was engaged may help to explain to us why in several instances so small a portion of the work appears to be from his chisel. He was probably not a rapid worker, but rather one of those who coaxed and caressed his marble into perfection. In 1474 we have seen him occupied with the Forteguerra tomb, and soon after with his share of the Pietro Riario work, not completed till 1477, the Cristoforo della Rovere immediately following. We do not know the date of the tabernacle, once in the Chapel of the Ammanati in S. Agostino, now in the cloisters. At present it is fixed above the sarcophagus of Bishop Jacopo Ammanati († 1479), but it was probably placed in the chapel during the Bishop's lifetime, a year or two earlier. In the Bishop's sarcophagus we have already seen that Mino had no share.

With regard to the tomb of Pietro Ferrici († 1478), now in the cloister of the Minerva, I am unable to agree with those writers—amongst them so eminent a critic as Count Gnoli—who see in the relief of the Virgin and Child a work by Mino da Fiesole. The tomb itself is from the workshop of Bregno, and is akin to other work put forth from it at about the same period, which was one of great activity among the makers of Roman tombs. Ferrici was a man of no great note, one who made little mark on the records of the day; but his heirs were rich enough to go to the most fashionable studio of the day

for his sepulchre. The attribution of the Madonna in the recess to Mino has in it a certain support from the analogy of the other tombs just mentioned from Bregno's workshop, in which Mino was called in to supply one of his charming reliefs. But in this case I am compelled to recognize some other hand, though the hand of one who had come strongly under the influence of the Florentine. A careful comparison of the relief with the unquestioned works of the master will reveal more points of difference than of identity. In any undoubted work by Mino it will be found that the carving of the mouth plays a very important part in the subtle smile which gives so great a charm to the work of the master. It is cut very firmly and very clearly, with well-understood modelling of the curves of the lip. The under lip especially is full, well shaped, and rounded, short in proportion to the upper lip, and throwing a slight shadow. Now, in this Ferrici tomb the mouth is more slitlike, less clearly cut, and lacking the refined certainty of Mino da Fiesole's touch. In this respect it comes nearer to the work of the Madonna of the choir ('Opus Mini') at Sta. Maria Maggiore. Again, the carving of the eyelids, which are always well defined and of full shape, giving an oval-shaped opening, in Mino's true work, here gives place to a more uncertain and slit-like opening, such as is found in the Sta. Maria Maggiore group. On the other hand, I cannot class the Ferrici Madonna as the work of the sculptor of that group, and at present we must be content to await further light upon the authorship of both works.

If Mino, joined with a Bregno or a Dalmata, was able

to express but a portion of himself, hampered by the endeavour to fulfil ideals and to satisfy tastes which were not his own, he found his true Florentine self once more in the last work which he was to do in Rome, when it fell to his lot to prepare the tomb of the young Francesco ('Cecco') Tornabuoni, who died in Rome in 1478, and was buried in the Minerva. Here we have a tomb by a Florentine for a Florentine in the church of the Florentines. Francesco was nephew of Giovanni Tornabuoni, the rich banker—of him, therefore, who gave to Domenico Ghirlandaio the commission for the frescoes of Sta. Maria Novella; of him who likewise commissioned the same artist to fresco the chapel in the Minerva—probably that of S. Giovanni Battista—with scenes from the life of his patron saint; of him whose wife, Francesca di Luca Pitti, lay in that same chapel in the tomb, now lost, which Verrocchio made for her. Of Francesco ('Cecco') himself we know little, save that his death at thirty cut short a life of promise, and that he had, as the epitaph tells us, endeared himself to Sixtus. The loss of the young Florentine was, we may take it, felt more deeply by the little colony who lived around the Minerva than that which they sustained when Pietro Riario, their sometime Archbishop, was carried to his grave.

The tomb, once probably in the Tornabuoni Chapel, has been cast out, and is now thrust away on the left wall, near the entrance to the church, below two other monuments. It was made to be seen at a considerable height above the eye, as the angle at which the body lies upon the sarcophagus tells us very plainly. The figure

suffers greatly by being seen at the level of, or even below, the eye. The tomb, moreover, as we see it, is but a fragment. It was in all probability a tomb of the size of the sculptor's Giugni tomb in the Badia, having a lunette above, from which there may have looked down one of those Madonna reliefs which we now see preserved in some of the museums of Europe. All parts of it, save the sarcophagus, with its sleeping figure and the panels above it, have been dispersed; but even this poor remnant is enough to tell us that in it the Minerva once possessed one of the choicest examples of Mino's handiwork. With it the tale of Mino's work in Rome was to end. It had been a refining and a penetrating influence amongst the pompous and sometimes ponderous productions of the Roman school of sculptors, but it was not an influence that withstood for long the fast advancing tide of the later Renascence.

Mention may here be made of the tomb of Diotisalvi Neroni, the Florentine exile, the foe of the Medici, who died in 1482, and was buried in the Minerva. It is a work apparently by a Florentine sculptor of second-rate power, but it has the merit of breaking through the monotonous uniformity of design in Roman tombs of the period. Another tomb which displays Tuscan influence is that of Gianbattista Mellini, younger brother of Pietro Mellini, in the third chapel to the left in Sta. Maria del Popolo.

CHAPTER VII

A GROUP OF TOMBS

Raffaello della Rovere († 1477), SS. Apostoli, crypt.
Constantia, mother of Jacopo Ammanati († 1477), S. Agostino, cloister.
Cardinal Jacopo Ammanati († 1479), S. Agostino, cloister.
Giovanni (Guglielmo Basso) della Rovere († 1483), Sta. Maria del Popolo.
Pietro Mellini († 1483), Sta. Maria del Popolo.
Marcantonio Albertoni († 1485), Sta. Maria del Popolo.

To these may be added a further group of tombs, which are of kinship less immediate:

Maddalena Orsini (undated, after 1473), S. Salvatore in Lauro.
Bishop Alfonso Paradinas († 1485), Sta. Maria di Monserrato.
Eustachio de Levis († 1489), Sta. Maria Maggiore.
Filippo della Valle († 1496), Araceli.
Juan de Fuensalida († 1498), Sta. Maria di Monserrato.

The group of tombs which are indicated in the list at the head of this chapter present certain features which seem to justify us in regarding them as a special type, emanating from a sculptor or sculptors in Rome who had diverged to some extent from the type which was now so prevalent under the influence of the powerful workshop of Bregno. This opinion has not been held by many writers whose authority must, even when we differ

from them, be regarded with great respect. Thus Ernst Steinmann unites the Brusati (S. Clemente), Raffaello della Rovere, Giovanni della Rovere, Marcantonio Albertoni, as all from the workshop of Bregno and Capponi, and includes all the tombs mentioned in my further list as following from the prototype found in Raffaello della Rovere. A. Venturi, in like manner, considers that these tombs were a second type created by Andrea Bregno, of whom he writes that 'with the tomb of Pietro Riario († 1474) Andrea Bregno became master and lord of Roman art at the end of the fifteenth century.' And again: 'In the period of Sixtus IV. there was no monument which Bregno did not organize, direct, or which, at least, was not studied or imitated from his works as examples.' It is this view,[1] thus clearly stated, which seems to me to ask too much, and to receive contradiction not merely from the artistic probabilities of the case, but from a critical examination of the actual tombs. Is it possible to believe that Bregno, the capable, highly trained, but not very imaginative, sculptor and *maestro di bottega*, was at a given moment putting forth the tombs of Pietro Riario, Cristoforo della Rovere, Rocca, and others—all of them, even in their various collaborations with Mino da Fiesole and others, marked by a most distinct character, which even after the master's death remains typical in the *bottega*[2]—and that at the same time he was putting forth a second type, whose characteristics are so different, and which develop on their

[1] 'Arte Italiana,' vol. vi., pp. 952, 958, 959.

[2] As in the Gianbattista Savelli († 1498) in Araceli.

own line, with no admixture of the special forms which belong to Bregno's art in the other development? To me it seems far more reasonable, far more consistent with the spirit of artistic creation, to believe that we are dealing with the products of a different *bottega*, presided over by a sculptor whose personality at present, owing to the difficulties recorded in a previous chapter, eludes us, but who, appearing before us first with this type of tomb in the Raffaello della Rovere († 1473), was powerful in Rome for over twenty years. As has already been said, if the documents which Paolo Giordani quoted could be frankly accepted, we might now be in a position to establish his personality. As it is, we must be content to deal with the tombs as a style.

The tombs follow approximately one model, of which the best examples which survive in their completeness are the Giovanni della Rovere († 1483) and Marcantonio Albertoni († 1485), both in Sta. Maria del Popolo. There is an oblong recess of no great height, but of some depth, within which the figure of the dead lies at full length. Above the recess is a bow-shaped lunette enclosed within a framework, on which cherub heads, a guilloche pattern, or a floriated semicircular frieze is carved, the lunette space within being, as we see in the Giovanni della Rovere, intended for a painting.[1] The recess has in all cases a coffered ceiling. The ends at head and foot have com-

[1] In the Albertoni this has been destroyed, and a plain plaster background now takes its place. Also in this monument the bier is of a more solid description, though borne on very inadequate supports.

Photo *Alinari.*

FIG. 40.—RAFFAELE DELLA ROVERE (SS. APOSTOLI).

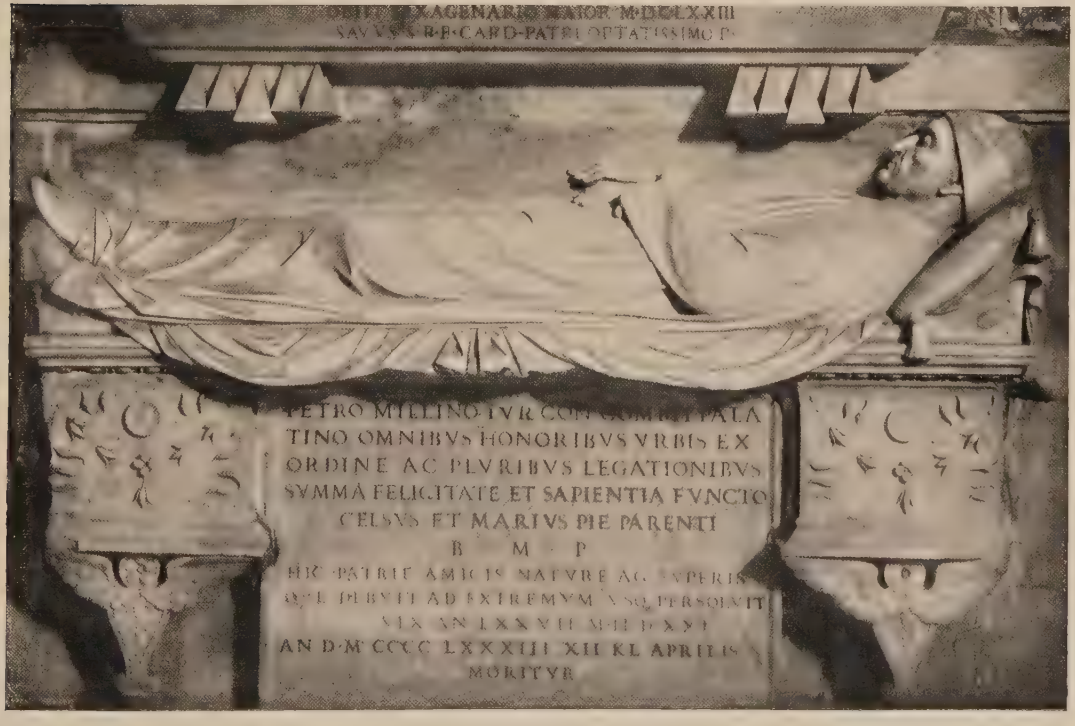
PETRO MELLINO IVR CONS
TINO OMNIBVS HONORIBVS VRBIS EX
ORDINE AC PLVRIBVS LEGATIONIBVS
SVMMA FELICITATE ET SAPIENTIA FVNCTO
CELSVS ET MARIVS PIE PARENTI
B M P
AN D·M·CCCC LXXXIII XII KL APRILIS
MORITVR

Photo *Alinari.*

FIG. 41.—PIETRO MELLINI (POPOLO).

To face page 114.

monly the same design: an arch at one end, a cross at the other, while the inner wall of the recess has in most cases a very delicate festoon of pearls or beads. The figure lies not upon a sarcophagus, but upon a bier or couch. Nor does it lie, as in the Forteguerra and Pietro Riario, on a bier supported above a solid sculptured sarcophagus, but simply on a bier of very light, one might almost say of flimsy, construction, in which the supports are in all cases of a well-defined, though not altogether satisfying, type. These supports consist of two very unstable-looking legs, whose upper portion, at the junction with the bier, carries a circle, rosette, or medallion, generally having a pair of wings. This particular device, partial or complete, is never absent from the group of tombs with which we are dealing. The cartouche or label which bears the inscription commonly takes at either end a dovetail shape (modified in the Albertoni and della Valle tombs), which stands up across the front of the bier, and often partly conceals the supports. In the Raffaello della Rovere *putti* stand at either end, within the niche itself, holding each the stemma of the family. The method was abandoned in all subsequent examples in Rome, doubtless because it somewhat detracted from the dignified simplicity of the sleeping figure, and produced a confused effect, and also a less pleasant proportion. As a rule, the niche is bounded at either end by pilasters. In the della Valle tomb the place of these pilasters is taken by panels containing *putti*. The fact that so many of the main group have been dismantled and reduced to the mere niche and its bier deprives us of the chance of knowing

whether other individualities in the design of the lunettes and upper portions might not have shown themselves.

Now, there is no single feature of those which have been specified which might not be expected to occur in tombs of the first type of Bregno's workshop, though, as a matter of fact, they do not, with one exception,[1] appear, or, at any rate, not in the same relative position. But when we find them occurring all in the same conjunction, in the same relative positions in a whole series of tombs of a special type, while they are practically absent from another large series of quite a different type recognized as the work of Bregno, the argument is strong for a separate authorship. I would remark, as a minor piece of negative evidence, without claiming too much weight for it, that the strange helmet-like device, described at p. 91, which so often occurs in tombs of the true Bregno type—the Lebretto, Alanus, Coca, Fornario, etc.—never occurs on any tomb of the type which we are discussing. So, too, does the small honeysuckle ornament commonly seen on the Bregno cartouche disappear from sight, together with certain other favourite devices of the *bottega.*

It is in the type of the recumbent figures, however, even more than in the minor though characteristic details, that we find the most marked difference. The Raffaello della Rovere, which begins the series, is not conceived in the spirit of any of the figures which we find upon the tombs of the first Bregno type. There is in it a tender and sensitive expression of sympathy, which, coupled with

[1] The support, with a rosette at the head, without wings, occurs in the bier of the Pietro Riario.

Photo *Alinari.*

FIG. 42.—CONSTANTIA AMMANATI (S. AGOSTINO CLOISTER).

Photo *Alinari.*

FIG. 43.—JACOPO AMMANATI (S. AGOSTINO CLOISTER).

To face page 116.

a more flexible and delicate handling of the marble, surrounds it with an atmosphere which is not felt in the more solidly-built-up rendering of the Bregno statues. This is even more true of the figure of Pietro Mellini,[1] the great jurist, whose sarcophagus alone survives in the Popolo Church. He lies in plain biretta and robe, his hands crossing one another on the breast—a simple figure of great dignity, such as marked the man in his own lifetime. The face convinces one as a piece of true and trustworthy portraiture. The drapery no longer falls in the straight, impossible tubes of the older *marmorarii*, but lies, as it naturally would, upon the motionless figure in somewhat flat folds, which drop from the salient points of the body, such as the knee and instep of the foot. The sculptor has come to think of his sculpture as no mere means of expressing an abstract vision of rigid and pompous death, but as a really personal vision of the toil of the life, and of the quiet sleep afterwards. If a photograph of the Mellini figure be placed side by side with that of the Raffaello della Rovere, it will be seen at once that, save that the figures are reversed, the pose, the folds, and the design of the drapery are practically one, though the handling of the Mellini is somewhat more sensitive. There is especially an identity in the rendering of the hands, of which the upper does not lie flat upon the other, but projects above it. This peculiarity is, so far as I know, confined to these two figures. It is to be noticed,

[1] This figure is, by the unverified document quoted by Paolo Giordani (see p. 80), assigned to the hand of Paolo de Urbe (Romano), the pilasters which support it to his pupil, Gian Cristoforo Romano.

by the way, that in the Raffaello bier the supports are without the wing ornaments, a fact which is accounted for by the presence of the winged *putti*, the designer having wisely satisfied therein his craving for this sculptor's resource without repeating it close by.

If we turn from these two monuments, which carry a special flavour, to others of the group, we find that none of them displays quite the same feeling and touch, though they all of them show certain correspondences of detail which, when taken in combination, assure us that they issued from one *bottega*. Thus, both in the Giovanni della Rovere and in the Constantia Mater a peculiar piece of decoration is seen at either end of the bier, while the looped ornament, like a string of beads, within the recess, the coffering of the recess itself, and the cross worked in relief at the head and foot of the sleeper, are identical in both tombs. But when we come to the figures themselves we can no longer claim so close an identity. The Constantia Mater († 1477), earliest in apparent date, has the face much mutilated, but is a work of considerable feeling seen at a disadvantage. The general treatment of the figure and drapery seems to give it a place halfway between the style of the earlier Roman *marmorarii*, with their tube-like lower folds and bundle of rigid, almost parallel, triangles depending from the arm, and the more subtle and feeling treatment of the Pietro Mellini. On the other hand, the figure of Jacopo Ammanati belongs more distinctly to the earlier tradition, and has nothing in common with the Pietro Mellini or the Raffaello della Rovere. It is to be remarked that we see neither of these

Photo *Alinari.*

FIG. 44.—GIOVANNI DELLA ROVERE (POPOLO).

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tombs in the cloisters of S. Agostino under the circumstances for which they were designed. A brief examination assures us that to-day we are looking down upon figures which were meant to be seen either on the level of the eye or slightly above it. At their present height the coffering of the recess is invisible, and the figures themselves present too much of the upper surface to the eye. Yet, if they were raised to the level of the eye, or even a very little above their present height, the doors of the ciboria above, now blocked up, but once used for the reception of the holy wafer, would become at once inaccessible, if we remember that their use implies an altar or a retable in front. In fact, these two tombs were not altar-tombs—such tombs were not common in Rome in the fifteenth century — nor had the two ciboria which we now see above them any part in the original design. That design was clearly the same as in the Giovanni della Rovere, a recess surmounted by an architrave bearing a lunette. The ciborium, apparently an echo of a lost work by Donatello, now affixed to the wall above the Constantia Mater,[1] accords with it only in length, but in no other respect, while the other, affixed above the Jacopo Ammanati, has been attributed in part to Mino da Fiesole. Both ciboria were probably in the chapel from which the tombs were brought to their present position in the cloisters, but had no other connection with them.

[1] The Constantia Mater tomb has been attributed to Luigi Capponi, the Jacopo Ammanati to the workshop of Mino da Fiesole, the latter attribution being obviously due to the mistaken belief that the ciborium above had formed part of the monument.

The figure of Giovanni della Rovere in the Church of the Popolo, which, seen in a photograph, appears to be a work by a refined chisel, is, when actually examined, found to be of coarser and more summary workmanship, and of far less flexible and subtle power of expression than the Pietro Mellini of the same date. The rigid tubes of the drapery once more disturb the idea of natural slumber, and the whole pose is stiffer and less natural. Such folds could only exist in a highly starched or artificially stiffened material. Coming from the same workshop as the Mellini and the Raffaello, it is by a hand of less mastery. Yet the face is fine and expressive, and the whole tomb of value as an uninjured example of its type.

The tomb of Marcantonio Albertoni († 1485), also in the Popolo Church, while it closely conforms to the type of this group, presents some slight but not important variations in detail. The young knight, a noble Roman who died of plague in his thirtieth year, lies at full length on the bier, his long locks streaming from under his plain biretta. He wears the short walking-dress of a Roman citizen. The figure is rounder in its forms, less flat in its modelling, than the Mellini or the Raffaello. It will be remembered that the unverified document cited by Giordani[1] gives the figure to Niccolò, the pilasters and ornament to Cristoforo Romano, both pupils of Paolo de Urbe, while the verified document cited by Fedele names Jacopo d'Andrea da Firenze as the designer of the tomb. Whatever name shall ultimately hold the field, it is certain that

[1] P. 80.

FIG. 45.—MARCO D'ANTONIO ALBERTONI (POPOLO).

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the tomb is permeated by the Florentine spirit.[1] Roman as he is, Albertoni might be translated back into one of the Florentine youths in Ghirlandaio's frescoes in the Sistine. There is, indeed, no more lovable monument in Rome—none which, in its simplicity, its quiet dignity, its graciousness, its reticence, its absence of all ostentation, appeals more to the sympathy of him who looks upon it than this unpretending example of Renascence work.

Of the other tombs which are mentioned at the head of this chapter I do not propose to say much. The type, aiming at greater lightness, at a less ponderous presentment, at a more intimate sympathy, yet had in it certain trivial conventions which precluded its survival in its original shape, while the lack of deep motive forbade its becoming the parent of later or more permanent developments. It did not spread far beyond Rome. A monument to Belisario Geraldino († 1482) at Amelia is, in slightly modified detail, a direct imitation of the Raffaello della Rovere by a less capable sculptor, but otherwise the type found no followers beyond the city. Neither did it survive far into the next century, the tomb of Antonio Albertoni († 1509) in Araceli alone recording it.

It has seemed well to devote some space to the consideration of these tombs, which, whatever light future documents may throw upon them, show an interesting phase in an art which was apt to proceed only too doggedly in a phaseless course of repetitions.

[1] Many years ago, before there was any question of document, the author wrote in his notes that the tomb of Albertoni was from the chisel of a Tuscan sculptor working in Rome.

CHAPTER VIII

VARIOUS SCULPTORS: PASQUINO DA MONTEPULCIANO, NICCOLÒ DELLA GUARDIA, PIETRO PAOLO DA TODI, MINO DEL REAMÈ, LUIGI CAPPONI, MICHELE MARINI

The tomb of Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini (Pius II.; † 1464) is interesting both for the personality of Æneas and for the artistic difficulties which arise from it. The first confusion proceeds from the double statement of Vasari, who in his life of Filaréte says: 'Near to this chapel [S. Andrea in St. Peter's] is the tomb of the said Pope Pius, from the hand of Pasquino de Matteo da Montepulciano,[1] a scholar of Filareto and of Bernardo Ciuffagni,' while in the life of Paolo Romano he attributes the tomb to Niccolò della Guardia and Pietro Paolo da Todi, scholars of Paolo. So far as Ciuffagni († 1456) is concerned, we may at once dismiss his share, since he was dead full eight years before the tomb of Pius could have been set in hand. Concerning Pasquino we do not know much, and we have no independent work of sculpture from his hand to give us a just standard of comparison. He assisted Antonio Rossellino and Mino da Fiesole on the pulpit of the cathedral at Prato, and there also, in the Chapel of the

[1] See Milanesi on Vasari, vol. ii., p. 462, note.

Sacra Cintola ('Holy Girdle'), he completed, in company with Maso (Masaccio) di Bartolommeo, the fine *graticola* (grille) of bronze, which is still to be seen (1461-1464). Again, at Urbino he was associated, between 1451 and 1454, with the same Maso on work for the portal of S. Domenico. At Rimini he made, in S. Francesco ('Temple of Malatesta'), another bronze grille, now lost, and he was employed by the Commune of Florence as Master of Ordnance (*bombarde*), no unworthy post for an artist in those days. He died, at the age of fifty-nine, in 1480.

Niccolò della Guardia and Pietro Paolo da Todi were, according to Vasari, pupils of Paolo Romano, goldsmiths, but also sculptors of consideration. Niccolò left numerous crucifixes and other works in metal in the neighbourhood of Aquila and in the Abruzzi, but here again, though he seems to have been associated with the sculptor Silvestro d' Aquila, no independent work of sculpture is proved to be from his hand. Of Pietro Paolo da Todi we have still less record. The general view is that Vasari was mistaken in assigning a share in the tomb of Pius II. to any of these three artists.

Pius II. died in 1464. In 1473 Paolo di Mariano Taccone was dead. In 1470, being in ill-health, he had made his will, in which he directs that a statue of Pius II., unfinished, should be handed over to Cardinal Todeschini Piccolomini (Pius III.). Venturi has made the valuable suggestion that this statue, finished by another hand, is the recumbent figure which is seen to-day upon the tomb. I am strongly inclined to agree in this suggestion, which

is supported by the style of the figure and its ineffective and tentative finish. But the acceptance of the view seems to force upon us yet another—namely, that the original commission must have been given to Paolo. It is more than unlikely that he would have accepted or been offered secondary service under the men who seem possible in the tomb of Pius. On the other hand, it is quite consistent with probability that to him should have been given the task of making the tomb for the man for whom he had been employed in the work of fashioning the tabernacle for the head of St. Andrew and in the pulpit of benediction, both in St. Peter's. Given this starting-point, we may proceed to reconstruct the story of the tomb of Pius II. somewhat thus: Paolo receives the commission from Cardinal Francesco Todeschini in 1464. He is, perhaps, already in failing health, and with other commissions on his hands. Todeschini, as we know, was very little in Rome during the Papacy of Paul II., successor to Pius, having betaken himself to his Bishopric of Siena. The work hangs fire. In 1470 Paolo Romano, feeling that his life's work is ended, returns the rough-hewn figure of Pius—the face and general pose seem to me to be Paolo's—to Todeschini, who has to get the monument completed. At this stage the calling in by the Cardinal of Pasquino da Montepulciano, an artist from the neighbourhood of his beloved Siena, becomes less improbable, and even the addition of the two pupils of Paolo, Niccolò della Guardia and Pietro Paolo da Todi, is not outside of the fitness of things. It is quite conceivable that, in spite of his confusions, Vasari may have, in the

main, made true record, and that the three men in question had already been employed in the work by Paolo, and continued it after his breakdown.

The monument follows the type established by that of Astorgio Aginense († 1751) in the Minerva cloister, and of Tebaldi († 1466) in the Minerva church; but whereas each of those consists of three parallel horizontal tiers, the tomb of Pius has a fourth tier. The sarcophagus is of the same type in all three cases—a severely simple and solid coffer, supported on two fluted pilasters, ending below in lions' claws, while at either end of the coffer an acanthus-leaf is worked upon the angle—a type confined to the three tombs mentioned above. The frieze of cherubs above the architrave is, perhaps, not a part of the original monument, but may have found its way in when the tomb, together with that of Pius III., was brought hither, under the care of Cardinal Peretti, in 1614. The style is more rich and florid than any other portion of the monument, with which it is not altogether in harmony, and a careful examination seems to show[1] that it is an inch or two too long for its architrave. It appears to be a fragment inserted from some tomb of the Bregno work-shop. The student of Roman Renascence tombs needs continually to remind himself that he is possibly examining, not a complete original, but a patchwork. Especially is this true where the tombs, before their transference, have served their time in the lumber chambers of St. Peter's. It was only too easy, when a long period had passed since

[1] The monument is, however, too high up for intimate examination, and I make the statement with reserve.

the original designing, or even since the monument had last seen the light of day, to fit into it something that belonged to another owner or another date. Especially is this true of the haphazard redistribution of the Virtues and saints who so often guard the sleepers, to the great confusion of style-criticism. In the tomb of Pius II. the two Virtues, Faith and Charity, who flank the lower relief, are part of the original monument. Their characteristics—the upper portion of the body nude, the form well indicated below the short tunic or chiton, the legs clad in buskins halfway to the knee, the method of wearing the hair, and the general type of the figures—give them an affinity with those which surround the tomb of Astorgio. The two Virtues of the middle tier, Prudence (with the book) and Justice (with the sword), figures of considerable beauty, appear to belong to a somewhat later date. The Virtues of the upper tier, Temperance and Fortitude, are again beautiful works, which agree well enough with the original monument. Comparison, however, with the Faith and Charity of the lowest tier will show that they present a different type and a different method of surface handling, and that they are not from the same chisel.

In the relief of the Madonna between St. Peter and St. Paul, of whom the St. Paul is presenting Æneas Sylvius, who kneels at the foot of the Virgin, some writers have seen the school of Bregno. Certainly the central slab, containing the figure of the Madonna, recalls, on a large scale, the beautiful little Madonna in the altar dossale in S. Gregorio, often attributed to Bregno; but in the figures of the Apostles I see much more

probability of the work of some scholar or scholars of Paolo Romano, especially in the figure of St. Paul.

In the relief below the sarcophagus, which represents Pius II. receiving the relics of St. Andrew in the midst of his Cardinals and Bishops, the great incident of the life of the Pope, I am strongly disposed to see a work by Mino del Reamè, working less under the immediate influence of Mino da Fiesole than when he wrought the reliefs in the choir of Sta. Maria Maggiore. Of the work of this sculptor I have to speak later. The tomb, in its removal to its present position, has suffered by unsightly additions, and perhaps still more by its being now elevated to a height which it was never intended to occupy.[1] The coat of arms and its framework which now surmount the tombs to the great destruction of the lines of the design, the coarse corbels on either side of Peretti's inscription, and a few other minor additions, are due to those who reconstructed the monument in the seventeenth century. If we mentally remove these excrescences, including, I think, the heavily carved frieze of *putti* already mentioned, and reduce the monument to its original design and proportions, so far as it is possible for us to do so, we have in the tomb of Pius II. no longer a ponderous and ill-proportioned work of pretentious and almost vulgar character, but a tomb simple and dignified almost to severity, well-proportioned, and of a quality in its workmanship that is worthy of its origin. Brought to the form which I suggest, it falls into line, with regard to its

[1] The figure of Pius II. is almost invisible from below at its present angle to the eye.

design, with the three-tiered horizontal tombs of Astorgio Aginense († 1451), and Tebaldi († 1466), in the Minerva cloisters and church. I would notice that the sarcophagus in all these three tombs is of the same severe and solid type, and of almost identical pattern—a plain stone chest, whose ends are ornamented with an acanthus-leaf, and whose supports consist of a fluted pilaster, ending in a lion's claw. The tomb of Tebaldi has been attributed to Andrea Bregno, assisted by Dalmata. I seek in vain for anything to indicate Bregno's workshop, either in the design, or in the detail, or in the character of the workmanship. Nor can I find in it the hand of Dalmata. The sarcophagus, as I have said, is of that severe and simple type which does not, so far as I know, occur in the work of Bregno. The recumbent figure is of a plasticity and supple freedom that is not found in the Lombard's creations; and, in details of workmanship, I would point to the very feeling and sensitive rendering of the rich leaf pattern which runs along the string course as something which we do not meet with in the average Roman work. I see here a Tuscan workman, and I believe the Tebaldi tomb, like that of Pius II., to have resulted from the calling in of one who had been trained in a Tuscan studio.

From the names thus brought before us for consideration in Rome we turn to that of another artist, Mino del Regno, or del Reamè, from the Kingdom of Naples, who, though he seems to have played no small part in the circle of Roman artists of his day, has yet left behind him in the city no single work which is attested by document.

He is known to have worked with Isaia da Pisa, Paolo Romano, and the other sculptors who were engaged upon the Triumphal Arch of Alfonso at Naples. Here it is necessary to return to a story which has already been alluded to in dealing with the life of Paolo Romano. Vasari tells us that on one occasion Paolo, who was modest and capable, was challenged by Mino del Reamè, a vain man and a boaster, for a bet of a thousand ducats, to compete in the making of a statue. The bet being accepted, Mino promptly backed out, reducing the sum to a hundred ducats, which was soon lost to him, since the umpire awarded the prize to Paolo. In the pediment of the portal of what was once the Spanish Church of S. Giacomo degli Spagnuoli, in the Piazza Navona, is to be seen the relief of two angels supporting a disc. The angel on the right is signed 'Opus Mini,' while the left is signed 'Opus Pauli,' and to these figures the story is generally attached. But since the existence of Mino del Reamè was shadowy, and hardly even admitted, the story was gradually, but most unjustly, transferred by various writers to Mino da Fiesole. A single glance at the relief should have assured the beholder that the work had no possible connection with the art of the Florentine. The work is poor enough, not worth mention but for its bearing on the identity of its author. There is little to choose between the two works, and the umpire might with no injustice have reversed his verdict. The angel of Mino is perhaps a little the better. But the importance of the work lies not in any supposed connection with a foolish story, but in the fact that it seems to prove that Mino del

Reamè signed his work 'Opus Mini.' There are two other works in Rome signed in the same way which have been until recently accepted as from the hand of Mino da Fiesole. The first of these is the Madonna accompanying the set of reliefs now affixed to the wall in the chapel at the back of the high-altar of Sta. Maria Maggiore. Vasari records that during the first sojourn of Mino da Fiesole in Rome (1463-64) he had executed for Cardinal William d'Estouteville a set of reliefs for the altar of St. Jerome, under which reposed the body of the saint. Some of these reliefs are now recognized as those which are preserved, after having for many years been lost sight of, in the Museo Civico (Via Capo le Case). Meanwhile, the name of Mino da Fiesole had attached itself to the other set of reliefs of which we have spoken, at the back of the high-altar, especially as the Madonna bore the apparently assuring inscription 'Opus Mini.' But the style of the reliefs, so unlike those which came from the Florentine's hand in other places, caused natural concern to all critics. Those who were compelled, like Perkins, to reject them entirely as the work of Mino himself took refuge in the view that they were by an imitator or a scholar. Others, who supported the attribution, explained the difficulty by attributing the transformation in Mino's style to the influence of Rome. Of late years a solution has been offered which appears to satisfy the difficult conditions. It is suggested that the work signed 'Opus Mini' is from the hand of Mino del Reamè. It is a suggestion with which I entirely concur. It is impossible to compare these reliefs of Sta. Maria Maggiore with those of the Museo Civico

without seeing that their production by the same hand, even at any interval of time or under any change of influence, is impossible. It is quite unnecessary to depreciate the Sta. Maria Maggiore reliefs, which, for brevity, we will now call Reamè's. They are good and capable work, uninspired, but accurate and well ordered, and wrought by a practised chisel. In point of drawing, though comparatively stiff and, if one may use the expression, without atmosphere, they are more correct than those of Mino da Fiesole. The horses and animals which appear in the Adoration of the Kings are the work of a man who understood and enjoyed carrying out that part of his task with a reference to Nature and an attempt to be true to natural form. Mino da Fiesole's animals, on the contrary, in the Museo Civico set are hardly more than symbol for animal, hardly so characteristic as the camels of a Noah's ark. And where the relief of Mino da Fiesole seems to grow out of the background and to melt back into it, that of Reamè is stiffly detached. Still more in the Madonna—a pleasing work, nevertheless—the handling is wholly beneath that of the Florentine, even in his less happy achievements. The eyelids, small and unshaped, above the narrow openings; the nose, with the narrow nostrils; the uncertain slitlike mouth, in which Mino's firm rendering of the subtle curves and planes of the lips is wholly absent, belong to another art than the Florentine's. So, too, the conventional, half-understood rendering of the drapery. But, above all, in the puffy left hand of the Madonna, with its four almost parallel fingers, the sculptor breaks down at a point where Mino da Fiesole never failed.

In like manner, the ciborium of Sta. Maria in Trastevere, which bears the inscription 'Opus Mini,' and was long attributed to the Florentine, is now by most, but not by all, authorities accepted as the work of Mino del Reamè. At best a parody of the Florentine's work, and adding, to his acknowledged shortcomings, defects and exaggerations with which he is not in his weakest moments, such as the reliefs of Prato, ever chargeable, this work was again a cause of doubt to critics. The foreshortened figure of the angel who upholds the door of the ciborium was, for example, impossible to accept as from the hand of the greater Mino. To-day we may be content to accept it as the work of the lesser Mino del Reamè, and, uniting it with the altar-reliefs of Sta. Maria Maggiore, we get the work of an artist by no means to be despised, capable of producing pleasure-giving, if not inspiring, results, evidently influenced by the work of his greater namesake, and perhaps, if it be not unfair to think it, trading somewhat on the possession of the same name. Of his work on the monuments we have at present no incontestable evidence. Vasari gives him a share in the tomb of Paul II., with Mino da Fiesole and Giovanni Dalmata; but, unless he worked upon some of the portions which have disappeared, it seems possible that Vasari was confusing him with his namesake. That an artist of his capacity, already associated with Paolo Romano and Isaia da Pisa, should have found employment on the tombs of Rome is more than probable, but for more accurate assurance we must await, not without hope, the unearthing of further documents.

D.E.O. OPT. SACRVM.
NESTOR MALVITIVS BONONIENSIS EQVES
HIEROSOLYMITANVS THESEO ET BESSARIONI
AC MARCOANTONIO DE MALVITTIBFRATRIBVS
BENEMERENTIBVS SIBIQVE EX TESTAMENTO
FACIVNDVM RELIQVIT
ANNO CHRISTIANAE SALVTIS MDXXIX XXVIII
VIXIT AN XII MEN V DIEBVS

Photo *Anderson.*

FIG. 46.—NESTORE MALVIZZI (POPOLO).

Photo *Alinari.*

FIG. 47.—FILIPPO DELLA VALLE (ARACELI).

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We have several times in the pages of this volume enforced the fact that the study of the Roman monuments is still in its infancy, and that we may lawfully hope that the passage of a few more years will bring with it the discovery here and there of a fresh document, which, by establishing the authorship of some given work of art, may give us a standpoint from which to start upon the identification of other monuments. Forty years ago it would have been hard to discover the names of Bregno or Dalmata, Capponi or Marini, in any guide-book. To Von Tschudi we owe the resuscitation of Bregno. Dalmata has become a personality through the researches of Schmarsow and Karl von Fabriczy. Ernst Steinmann has summoned Marini from the shades in which he sat, and Gnoli has made Luigi di Gianpietro Capponi da Milano something more than a name for us. It is of the latter artist that we must now speak. He was one of those many Lombards who, in the last half of the fifteenth century, found their way to Rome and to the States of the Church. Trained probably in his earliest years in some Lombard workshop, he shows, even in his later works in Rome, traces of his origin; but whether, on his arrival in Rome, he took service in the workshop of his countryman Bregno, or of Paolo Romano, or of some other, is still a question which awaits solution. No work of his is known outside Rome[1]; nor, so far as I know, has any such work been definitely attributed to him; but, happily, we have in Rome itself two works by him attested by document, and

[1] A. Venturi is disposed to attribute to him the tomb of Belisario Geraldino at Amelia ('Scultura del Quattrocento,' p. 972).

withal sufficiently characteristic to enable us to ascribe other unattested works to him with reasonable certainty, while, by the use of that far-reaching weapon, style-criticism, other work has been brought within the probable or conjectural list of his achievements. It is needless to say that no details of his life can be deduced from these sources. A contract[1] exists of the year 1485 in which Florio Roverella (brother of that Cardinal Bartolommeo Roverella whose tomb, attributed to Andrea Bregno and Giovanni Dalmata, in the choir of S. Clemente has been already described) contracts with Giacomo di Domenico della Pietra di Carrara and Luigi di Pietro Capponi da Milano, by which the latter are to complete within four months of November 8, 1485, for a sum of sixty 'ducati di camera,' a monument to Giovanni Francesco Brusati (sister's son to Florio). The extraordinary stipulation is added that each party to the contract is to retain one-half of the design. It is difficult to believe that it was purposed to tear a design in half, though the text of the contract seems to say so. I prefer to suppose that the design in duplicate was retained by each party. But the stipulation reminds one that the trust reposed in the good faith of the Roman workshop of the day was not implicit. In the Piccolomini contract with Michelangelo for the altar-statues of Siena—a contract whose unhappy ending is well known—a notable sentence insists that the work shall not be of the quality which is so commonly turned out by Roman workshops. Those who commissioned the

[1] The text is given in full by D. Gnoli, 'Archivio Storico dell' Arte,' 1893, p. 8.

Brusati monument at a price of sixty ducats had no cause to complain of the result. The tomb is of excellent workmanship, ill placed to-day and injured by its neighbourhood to the Roverella monument, which overpowers it. But the design, following the ordinary type of the sarcophagus, in a square recess with a bow-shaped lunette above it, is modest and pleasing, and carried out with a care and finish which certainly suggest a young artist doing his utmost on an early commission. The recumbent figure is handled with feeling, though not with any striking force. The features are delicately chiselled and well modelled. The careful rendering of the hands, in which the details are treated with great refinement yet with full flexibility, is worthy of notice as a trait which runs throughout the artist's work. The square recess was designed to hold a fresco, destroyed when the monument was removed hither. The ornament upon the pilasters and frame of the lunette is carved with a certain reserve and selection which distinguish it from the more ponderous and laborious productions of the Roman workshops of the day. We have here not a monument of consummate power, but a well-ordered, well-proportioned work by an artist of refined taste, who shows little disposition to break the line of contemporary tradition.

What share Giacomo della Pietra had in the tomb is extremely difficult to determine. Was he responsible for the design, for the architectural details, for any portions of the sculpture, for the mere masonry? Or was he merely the 'contractor' in the present English sense of

the word, Capponi being a beginner in Rome, without funds and workshop of his own? From the fact that in other later works by Capponi the same features recur, it seems natural to suppose that Giacomo's share was financial rather than artistic. Was he, perchance, the same as Jacopo da Pietra Santa, who took part in the S. Andrea tabernacle, with Paolo Romano and Isaia da Pisa, and who afterwards, in 1479, designed S. Agostino for Cardinal William d'Estouteville, and was concerned in the building of the Palazzo di Venezia? If so, perhaps the situation explains itself, Luigi Capponi being a protégé of Jacopo, who naturally had sculptors and craftsmen in his service. All that we know, however, from this document of 1485 is that at that time both Giacomo della Pietra and Luigi Capponi were living in the Rione Pigna, the district which includes the Via delle Botteghe Oscure, parts of the Via Papalis (Corso Vittorio Emmanuele), the Collegio Romano, the Minerva, the Pantheon, and the quarters of the city which lie around. In 1496 a second existing document tells us that Michele Buttaroni, of the Rione Ripa, contracted with Luigi di Gianpietro, of the Rione Colonna, for a relief of the Crucifixion, with St. John and the Virgin, for the Church of Sta. Maria delle Grazie or della Consolazione, to be finished within ten months of March 8, 1496, at a price of eighty-seven ducats. The church lies within a stone's-throw of the Foro Romano, in the Via della Consolazione, which leads directly to the Piazza Montanara. Here, in the Hospital of the Consolazione, above an altar, will be found Luigi's relief. At this point it will be convenient

to say that comparison of the figures in this mezzo-relievo leaves no doubt of the authorship of the following works: A relief of Leo I., kneeling at the foot of St. John, in the Chapel of S. Giovanni, in the Lateran baptistery; and a figure of S. Giacomo, over a window opening from the right aisle of S. Giovanni in Laterano into the Cappella Massimi. This latter figure once belonged to an altar set up by Guglielmus de Pereriis, the Papal auditor—one of several[1] which he gave respectively to this church, to Sta. Maria del Popolo, to Sta. Agnese, and to S. Paolo fuori le Mura in the last twenty years of the fifteenth century. The Lateran altar stood once in the left aisle, but when Innocent X. (1644-1655) remodelled the Lateran the altar, like many another earlier monument, was dismantled. Two other figures of the Evangelist and the Baptist are to be found in the cloister of S. Giovanni in Laterano. They are sufficient to establish the type of Capponi's saints and certain special features of his craftsmanship. The figures are broad and full-bodied, the heads massive and surrounded by ringlets descending on either side of the neck, which is firm, solid, and columnar. The head and neck of the S. Giacomo in the Lateran might almost be inspired by a coin or relief of the Macedonian period. The folds of the drapery—careful, exact, with too parallel folds, lacking in flexibility and in the grasp of the full meaning of the shapes which drapery assumes above the human form—seem to be cast on an ancient Roman model, and are no great advance on con-

[1] All these altars remain in the churches mentioned. None but the Lateran fragments can be assigned to Capponi.

temporary work, except, perhaps, in the care with which they are wrought. The extremities are treated with close attention to detail, though a certain clumsiness of shape is seen in the hand which clasps the book in both the Lateran reliefs. The fondness which the artist shows in the ornamental portions of his work for delicate suspended fruit and flower—one favourite design of his seems to be founded on the fruit of the spindle-tree, greatly enlarged—and, above all, for delicate festoons of pearls, is one of those minor clues which often serve their purpose when the grounds for more important style-criticism are wanting. The Hospital of the Consolazione contains a ciborium (1493) which also appears to belong to Luigi, and, above all, a relief of the Virgin and Child, above the great portal opening into the street, which is one of the most beautiful out-of-door works to be seen in Rome. The attribution to Luigi of the ciborium set up by Innocent IV. in the Church of the Quattro Incoronati, on the Celian, near the Colosseum, presents greater difficulties.

Little doubt exists that the altar-front in the right aisle of S. Gregorio in Monte Celio, with its refined and expressive reliefs from the life of the saint—once more one of the valuable Renascence works of Rome—set up by Michele Bonsi, comes from the chisel of Capponi. Allowing for the difference of scale, the characteristics of the handling are the same as those which we find in the larger reliefs just mentioned. The kneeling figure of Leo in the Lateran baptistery will be seen again in the kneeling figures of the S. Gregorio altar. Especial attention may

be drawn to a mannerism in the rendering of the folds of the sleeve in the St. John of the Lateran relief, which employs a curious conventional zigzag pattern, like a very irregular honeycomb. This convention is seen again in small in the S. Gregorio relief.

And we may now advance one stage farther, to the identification of two works which more properly belong to the subject of monumental art in Rome. In the courtyard of S. Gregorio in Monte Celio is the tomb of the brothers Antonio and Michele Bonsi, which was once inside the church, in the chapel of the family. The Bonsi were of Florentine origin, possessing property in Rome—a house in the Via dei Pontefici, a *vigna* near S. Vito, a palace near the Trinità dei Monti. In 1498 Antonio was Ambassador from the Republic of Florence to Rome. His brother Michele was the owner of a fine collection of antiques gathered in Rome. The selection of an artist by Michele, whose initials, 'M. B.,' appear both on the altar in the church and the tomb, implies therefore, one may conjecture, both taste and knowledge. That the choice fell upon Capponi is pretty clear from the evidence of style. He has given us, not a monument of great importance, but possessing certain features which remove it from the ordinary type of Renascence tomb in Rome.

Since there were two brothers, he is unable to use the favourite method of a single recumbent figure, and resorts to the plan, familiar in Lombard art, of presenting the busts of the two men, modelled almost in the round, in medallions on the face of the monument. They are forcible and well wrought, and either they or Capponi

himself have decided that they shall be presented in Roman garb. Above the sarcophagus the space is filled by a relief of the Madonna and Child between adoring angels. The latter present the long curled locks which are of Capponi's preference. The fluttering, undulating draperies, which do not correspond to any movement of the body at the present or at an immediately previous moment, show the limitation of Capponi's powers in that direction. The ornamental portions are of high quality, and correspond in their nature and style—the use of drooping strings of pearls is again noticeable—to the attested works of the sculptor.

The identification of this tomb as a work of Capponi has led to the inclusion in his list of a fragment of a once important monument which is now in the portico of SS. Apostoli. A head within a plain medallion upon a simple marble front is now immediately surmounted by a hood, with conch-shaped fluting somewhat similar to that of the Bonsi tomb. This is all that recalls the memory of the unhappy Lorenzo Colonna, Protonotary, Lord of Alba and Marino, the chief living representative of the great House of Colonna, which throughout two centuries had kept Rome and the Campagna in turmoil from its feuds with the Orsini. A man of some chivalry and of no small ability, this Lorenzo had from his youth up—from the days of Eugenius—been fated to be a Pope's enemy. He had, when hardly more than a boy, crossed swords with the ruthless Vitelleschi; had vainly defended Palestrina against him when the Cardinal had laid it and Zagarolo in blood and ashes; had been with Alfonso of Naples when

Photo *Alinari.*

FIG. 48.—ANTONIO E PIETRO POLLAIUOLO (S. PIETRO IN VINCOLI).

Photo *Alinari.*

FIG. 49.—ANTONIO E MICHELE BONSI (S. GREGORIO IN MONTE CELIO).

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he had fought against Sixtus; and now that the latter Pope had resolved on the extermination of the Colonna, it was Lorenzo who was destined to play the most memorable, as it was the most pathetic, part in the drama. Lorenzo had borne arms against the Papal troops with Ferrante of Naples, the Orsini supporting Sixtus. The Orsini faction held the winning card in that last week of April, 1484. They had overwhelmed the Colonna in the Quirinal, had sacked the quarter, and beset the Colonna Palace. The Colonna chief showed no lack of gallantry. He essayed, for the sake of his followers, to go to the Vatican to deliver himself up, but was prevented by his friends, who knew the danger. He fought the palace to the last. When the Orsini rabble at length burst in, they found him bleeding and dazed, and led him to the Pope. On the way it is said that the brutal Girolamo Riario several times tried to stab the defenceless man, whose other foe, Virginio Orsini, not dead to all sense of chivalry, as often protected him. The Colonna Palace, by order of Sixtus, was torn to the ground. The wounded leader lay in S. Angelo. Meanwhile his brother Fabrizio, hoping to save Lorenzo's life, surrendered the family fortress of Marino to Geronimo d'Estouteville, eldest son of the great Cardinal, late Minister of Sixtus. The surrender was in vain. Lorenzo, who had upon the rack made admissions which were afterwards retracted, was beheaded in S. Angelo on the last evening of June, 1484. His body was buried in the SS. Apostoli. So far there is no question, but more than one writer repeats the pathetic tale that the mother that night received the dead

son's body, and, holding up the head, exclaimed: 'This is the head of my son, and this is the faith of Sixtus, who promised that as we left him Marino, so he would leave us my son.' Infessura, who helped to lay the dead man in his grave, and whose hatred for Sixtus would have fastened on such a detail, is silent as to the incident. It implies no admiration for the part played by Sixtus to add that there is no evidence that Marino was surrendered under any compact, though doubtless it was surrendered with a distinct hope.

Forty-three days later Sixtus himself was in his grave. The historical interest of this tomb greatly outweighs its artistic interest, which, even with reference to the art of Capponi, must be held to be but secondary. Yet it has this notable feature—that it is the earliest instance among Roman tombs of the use of the medallion enclosing a portrait, though the method, as we have already said, was well known in Northern Italy. And as in the work of Capponi, thus pieced together till it forms something that may be called a personality, we find a certain pleasure which no work of art divested of its authorship can ever quite fully afford us, so, too, we are grateful for the labour by which Ernst Steinmann has added some sort of clearness to the shadowy form of the sculptor Michele Marini. This artist, born in Fiesole in 1459, is stated by Vasari to be the author of the figure of S. Sebastian in the third chapel in the left aisle of the Minerva—a statue which, though it has been little heeded by the crowd of visitors who throng the Florentine church, is nevertheless one of the most notable statues produced in Rome during the fifteenth century. One may go farther, and

say that, as a free attempt at an early date of the rendering of the nude form, it has to be coupled in one's thoughts with the S. Sebastian of Civitali at Lucca and the S. Sebastian of Antonio Rossellino at Empoli. It is, indeed, to the latter sculptor that the art of Marini, so far as we can gauge it, seems to trace its parentage, not without a strong strain of Verrocchio's influence. But it must at the outset be admitted that much of the work now attached to Marini's name rests on a basis so uncertain that to argue from one of them to another is at present a dangerous process. The S. Sebastian of the Minerva is the work of something more than a second-rate sculptor. Marini in it shows great refinement of handling, with that intimate sympathy with, and understanding of, the qualities and capacities of marble which seem to be the birthright of the true Florentine, and of none other.

Above all, he has that power of self-control and reticence which refuses to adopt the easy method of over-emphasis and exaggeration of parts. It is this very refusal which makes it difficult to trace his identity in other works of a different class. It is the artist that leaves behind him here and there a mannerism who gives us a clue to take hold of. The S. Sebastian of Marini is excellent in its simplicity. Its preferences are rather those of a type than specialities of handling. One notices the slim litheness of the young figure; the slender neck—most unlike that of Capponi, for instance—the graceful poise of the head; the soft and flexible flesh which covers the young limbs. But when one seeks recognition marks, one finds it chiefly in the eyes, which are small and set somewhat flat in the

head, and without pupils. They convey, as Steinmann points out, an impression of blindness. Close by, in the same chapel, are the tombs of Agostino Maffei (no date), once fiscal secretary to Innocent VIII., and of his brother, Benedetto Maffei († 1494). The former is the more important of the pair. The figure of Agostino, treated with sensitive and sympathetic touch, lies somewhat flat upon the sarcophagus, and was evidently made for its present height above the eye. In the recess above is a relief of the Virgin and Child. Steinmann points to the treatment of the eyes and lips in this relief as indicative of the sculptor who carved the S. Sebastian—namely, Marini. And to him he assigns the whole tomb, as well as that of Benedetto Maffei opposite. But on this point it is hard to feel convinced, for if we accept the relief as by Marini, then the rest of the tomb, which reveals a different hand, cannot be assigned to him, and still less that of Benedetto.

The hand of Marini, again, has been seen by Steinmann in the tomb of two sisters of Neapolitan family—Beatrice (who died of plague at eighteen) and Lavinia Ponzetti, set up in 1505 by their uncle Fernando in Sta. Maria della Pace. Here certainly the two heads, set almost in the round within medallions, have the same small eyes, without pupils, short and thin mouth, and general characteristics of the S. Sebastian, if we make allowance for the difference between work which aims at portraiture and work which is an essentially ideal creation. But in the same church, hard by, is a second tomb, similar in type, with two heads in medallions, which, in 1509, Fernando

caused to be erected to the memory of any of the family who should die in Rome thereafter—'familiæ Romæ obituræ'—a comprehensive method of covering future contingencies. And this also is claimed as a work of Marini. But it is not possible, on closer examination, to see the same hand in both monuments, and in that of 1509 I can only find the work of some Neapolitan sculptor. Once again, Marini has been named as the author of the monument in Araceli to Filippo della Valle († 1494). He had been the trusted physician of three successive Popes, while his father Paolo before him had served the Popes of an earlier day. His brother Pietro, also a physician, is buried with Paolo and Filippo in the same chapel. The inscription says that Filippo's two sons —Andrew, Bishop of Crotona, and Bartholomew—erected the monument.

Andrew did not become Bishop of Crotona till December 2, 1496, and was transferred to the See of Mileto in February, 1498 — a fact which would seem to fix the date of this monument as 1497. But I find myself unable to see sufficient grounds, on the evidence of style—document being absent—for attributing the work to Marini.

Steinmann, who gives it to the sculptor in question, adds the comment that it is proof of the *naïveté* with which the Renascence sculptors attacked their task that the weeping *putti* who hold the della Valle arms are, trait for trait, exact copies of those in the Pietro Riario monument, which proceeded from the Bregno workshop. The interval of ten years has, however, with the advance of the

Renascence, given us, in the lower frieze, ornament, which, in the hands of such men as Cristoforo Romano and Andrea Sansovino, was becoming fashionable in Rome. It is to be noticed that the della Valle figure in its details—the books, the legs of the bier, the label with its honeysuckle ornament, and the general character of the whole—accords with that of the younger (Eustachio) de Levis in the double tomb of Sta. Maria Maggiore.

More important is the tomb of Cardinal Lorenzo Cibò, son of Maurice, brother to Innocent VIII. This was the art-loving Cardinal who caused Pollaiuolo to fashion his uncle's tomb, whose remnants are seen in the left aisle of St. Peter's. Dying in 1503, Lorenzo was buried in Sta. Maria del Popolo, finding there a rest at last from the hatred of Alexander VI. He had built the chapel in his lifetime—possibly also prepared the tomb. A later Cibò in 1685 'restored' the chapel, and Lorenzo's tomb found a new home in the Trastevere church of the Convent of S. Cosimato, now a poorhouse. Here the lunette relief which surmounted the tomb of the Cardinal may be seen to-day, with its surrounding frame and four figures of the Virtues.[1] That the tomb may claim a high place amongst those of its date in Rome will not for a moment be denied, but once more the evidence of its authorship fails to be convincing, because the connecting links which should unite the attributed works of Marini into one artistic personality are dangerously weak. If Marini did the

[1] The sarcophagus in S. Cosimato was not a part of the original tomb.

relief of the Cardinal kneeling before the Virgin, we see in him one who had been strongly influenced by Verrocchio; in the S. Sebastian we seemed to see rather one who had sat at the feet of Antonio Rossellino. The four Virtues which flank the tomb are beautiful work. One may incline to believe that in this sculptor, whose more sensitive and more individual outlook seems to separate him from the Romans of the day, we have the artist of the S. Sebastian; but the difficulties which will be met[1] by those who study technique with understanding will, for the present, compel them to suspend judgment till we obtain a safer point of departure.

In the Church of S. Tommaso degli Inglesi is the monument of Archbishop Bainbridge, of York, who, made Cardinal by Julius II. in 1511, died in Rome in 1514. The tomb is a slab-tomb, raised a few feet from the ground, in extremely high relief, after the manner of Pollaiuolo's Sixtus IV., and is of very high merit. The strong head, firm brows, large nose, high cheek-bones, and curiously personal mouth and chin, make up a portrait which is convincing. The artist is one who had been strongly moved by late Renascence influences; one is reminded more of Sangallo's tomb at Certosa di Val d'Ema than even of Pollaiuolo. But here we must stop. We have been asked to recognize in Michele Marini, sculptor of the S. Sebastian of the Minerva, the artist who is responsible for the following works: The two Maffei tombs, the

[1] In the meeting-room of the Minister of Education (Minerva Convent), in the great chimney-piece, is a series of bas-reliefs, which seems to be rightly referred to the chisel of Marini.

della Valle, the two Ponzetti tombs, the Lorenzo Cibò tomb, the Archbishop Bainbridge, and the reliefs of the Ministry of Education. The elements here offered to us for the reconstruction of a lost personality are too conflicting to justify us in doing more than hope that a document or two may hereafter fix for us a firmer point of departure.

CHAPTER IX

ANTONIO POLLAIUOLO

In the sketch which I have tried to give of the progress of sculpture in Rome during the fifteenth century the absence of really great artists as a permanent influence must have struck the reader. Of the great Florentines few were called in to do any great share of the work or reap any great portion of the harvest, which was falling in the main to men of mediocre attainments, though these also were, for the most part, strangers to Rome. Donatello pays a visit of no great length, and is seen no more, leaving little mark on the art of Rome. Mino da Fiesole comes to stay, but his delicate personality is somewhat overweighted by his alliance with less capable men. Verrocchio does a tomb in the Minerva to Francesca Tornabuoni, which presently disappears. It was fated that in its best period the art of the Roman school of fifteenth-century sculptors should take its true colour from men of the calibre of Paolo Romano, of Bregno, of Dalmata. The Florentine invasion did not overwhelm Rome till the century had turned and the refined art of the early Renascence had ceased to exist.

In the last decade of the century Antonio Pollaiuolo was called to Rome to make the tomb of Francesco della

Rovere (Sixtus IV.; † 1484), which Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere (Julius II.; † 1514) desired to raise in St. Peter's to the memory of his uncle. In 1493 the tomb was finished. It is the only tomb of any Pope buried in St. Peter's before the rebuilding under Julius II. which wholly escaped the destruction wrought by Bramante upon the monuments of the basilica. Michelangelo, in his wrath, asserted that Bramante had ruthlessly destroyed over seventy tombs, and the estimate was probably under the mark. It was the irony of Fate that Julius himself, who permitted the outrage upon the memorials of his forerunners, should himself go short of the lordly monument which had been prepared for him. The fragment of the great tomb which we now see in S. Pietro in Vincoli does not cover the bones of Julius, but he lies, with his uncle, beneath the tomb which Pollaiuolo wrought in the Chapel of the Sacrament in St. Peter's.

Sixtus IV. has been called, not the worst, but the most worldly of the Popes. Comparisons of this kind are hard to establish. As we look back at some of his predecessors, and again especially at his immediate followers, we are compelled to doubt the claim. It would be less open to question to assert that he was more successful than any who had gone before in placing in a conspicuous position the material claims of the Papacy to be a great political power among Great Powers. This aim, which involved Rome more deeply than ever in the intricacies of Italian politics, went hand in hand with an open and unblushing determination to aggrandize his own family. We have already seen that within a few years seven of

his nephews became Cardinals, and were loaded with benefices, and the lay members of the family were in corresponding degrees advanced. Unhappily, the nephews on the sister's side, the Riario branch—Count Girolamo of Forli, Cardinal Pietro Riario, and Cardinal Raffaele Riario—were vicious and worthless. The nephews on the della Rovere side were of stronger and better stuff. Cardinal Girolamo Basso, whose tomb by Sansovino will presently be mentioned; Cardinal Cristoforo, who lies, with his brother Domenico, in the Popolo; and Giovanni, City Prefect, younger brother of Julius II., were all men of worth in various degrees. Of Girolamo Basso, indeed, it may be said that his high character and blameless life place him by the side of such men as Forteguerra and Lebretto, Domenico and Angelo Capranica, Carvajal, Nicolas of Cusa, Albergati, Ardicino della Porta—happily for that age, these names do not exhaust the list—men who in a dissolute and difficult age lived not unworthy nor forgetful of their high calling. Of the lay members of the family, Giovanni della Rovere, brother-in-law of Sixtus—his true name was Giovanni Girolamo Basso, and he took the name of della Rovere on marrying Lucchina—transferred from his quiet employment at Savona, had the happiness to make no history, but, dying in 1483, was buried in the Popolo, in that chapel (third on the right) which his nephew Domenico caused to be frescoed by Pinturicchio. Domenico († 1500) himself found his rest in the tomb (in the first chapel) of his brother Cristoforo, which Bregno and Mino made; for Giovanni his three sons, the Cardinal Girolamo Basso, Francesco, and

Bartolommeo, raised the simple and beautiful tomb which has been mentioned in Chapter VII. The tomb of one other member of the family, Raffaello della Rovere, the father of Giuliano (Julius II.) and of Giovanni, City Prefect, who married Caterina, the daughter of Federigo di Montefeltro, and founded the later line of the Dukes of Urbino, is to be found in the darkness of the crypt of SS. Apostoli — a work of great beauty, which I have described in that same chapter. The tomb of Cardinal Raffaele Riario[1] († 1520), whose life of adventure and intrigue from the day when, as a boy-Cardinal of seventeen, he stood trembling on the altar-steps of Sta. Maria del Fiore, above the murdered body of Giuliano dei Medici, to the day when, weary, forsaken, discredited, poor, he died in his lodging in Rome, forms an epitome of all that was possible and much that is almost incredible in the last decade of the fifteenth century, is to be found on the left wall of the choir of the Apostoli; but a description of it does not come within the scope of this book.

It will be seen from the mere record of these names that in less than thirty years the family of the shipmaster or fisherman of Savona—for the father of Sixtus is said to have been either of these—had, besides providing two Popes and seven Cardinals, two City Prefects and a Lord of Forli, made marriages with the Royal House of Naples,

[1] It was he who, while still a mere boy, began the Cancelleria Palace out of the income of his many benefices. It was he who one night won 14,000 gold ducats at cards from Franceschetto Cibò, the son of Innocent VIII. When, a little later, Cibò complained to his father that Riario had cheated him, the Pope ordered the Cardinal to disgorge. Riario pleasantly replied that he had already spent it on his palace.

Photo *Alinari.*

FIG. 50.—SIXTUS IV. (S. PIETRO IN VATICANO).

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with that of Sforza, with that of Federigo of Urbino, and had fairly sprinkled the maps of Italy and France with Archbishops, Bishops, and Abbots of its kin. It would have been well if Sixtus' ambitions had been satisfied with that, but his share in the immoral politics of the day brought inevitable soil to his hands. His desire to wreck the House of the Medici brought him perilously near the crime of murder. His complicity in the Pazzi conspiracy with Girolamo Riario and Bishop Salviati of Pisa is proved on evidence which seems beyond dispute; but the same evidence shows that he had, while entrusting all to Girolamo—he should have known his nephew's character—expressly deprecated all injury to the lives of the Medici. His action brings the murder of Giuliano very near his doors. We have already seen the part which he played in dealing with the troublesome Colonna. Of the vile charges brought by Infessura—confessedly an enemy—and repeated by others, against the private morals of Sixtus, it need only be said that they are without proof, and were only too easy to make and to claim belief for in a day when improbability had almost ceased to be an argument against crime. It is a relief to turn to a side of the character of Sixtus in which his vigour and his capacity found a more lawful and less harmful outlet. As a man of learning and culture he followed in Rome the traditions of his great predecessor, Nicolas V. It belonged to his family, whether of the della Rovere or Riario descent, to be great builders, full of large, even if sometimes selfish, schemes.

To the men whose names we have mentioned were

due, during the della Rovere period, the palace near S. Apollinare (Girolamo Basso and Lionardo Grosso della Rovere); the Church of the Apostoli (begun by Pietro Riario), with the adjacent palace; the portico of the same church (Giuliano della Rovere); the Church, Convent, and Palace of S. Pietro in Vincoli (Giuliano della Rovere); the palace whose site is now occupied by the Palazzo Altemps (Girolamo Riario); the Palace of the Penitenzieri, near St. Peter's (Domenico della Rovere); the Palace of the Cancelleria, with the adjacent Church of S. Lorenzo in Damaso (Raffaele Riario); and, above all, the rebuilding of St. Peter's (Giuliano della Rovere, Julius II.).[1] To Sixtus himself we owe the Sistine Chapel, which the Florentine Giovanni dei Dolci built for him, and which in his lifetime Botticelli, Ghirlandaio, Cosimo Rosselli, Pinturicchio, Perugino, and Signorelli decorated with the splendid series which we still see upon its walls; the Sistine Library, below it; the Churches of Sta. Maria del Popolo (with its convent, now destroyed) and Sta. Maria della Pace (first called della Virtu); the Hospital of Santo Spirito; the tower of the Porta Flaminia (no longer existing); and other public works in Rome. He had, indeed, large views for the improvement of the city, and in a great measure was able to carry them out. With the aid of his Chamberlain, the celebrated French Cardinal, William d'Estouteville, he remodelled the quarter which lies between the Palazzo di Venezia and the Ponte S. Angelo, up to that time an

[1] Not, of course, that he was the first projector or beginner of the scheme. Nicolas V. must claim that credit.

almost impassable network of narrow and tortuous alleys, where it is said that two horsemen could scarcely pass, abreast. The Ponte S. Angelo, which seems to have held shops upon it, much as the Ponte Vecchio of Florence still does, was cleared as a precaution against the occurrence of accidents on crowded days of pilgrimage or procession—against the possibility also, we may readily guess, of their affording harbourage to those who should attack S. Angelo. The stall-holders, as well as the house-owners, in the improved streets below grumbled, protested, and wrote lampoons—the ancient weapon of the Roman burgher. Sixtus promptly pulled down the house of one of the chief grumblers, and D'Estouteville proceeded on his work of real improvement. The line of the Via Papalis, the highroad from the Capitol to the Vatican, was cleared and paved, apparently with tiles laid edgewise up. The Circus Agonalis (Piazza Navona), near the line of the Via Papalis, was made the market of Rome. A new bridge, Pons Janiculensis (Ponte Sisto), whose foundations Sixtus blessed from a little open boat one day in April, 1479, gave access from the centre of the city, near the Minerva, to the heart of the Trastevere. The city, especially in the districts of the Campus Martius, west of the present Corso Principe Umberto (Via Flaminia), began to assume the general aspect which it was to retain, more or less, for nearly 400 years. For the Cardinals of his day fell not short of their leader in their zeal for building or restoring church or palace. D'Estouteville built at his own cost the Convent of S. Agostino and the church where he lies in his unknown grave. Stefano

Nardini, in 1475, built the palace now known as the Governo Vecchio. The Cardinal Cesarini built his palace where the Sforza Cesarini now stands.

The great schemes of Sixtus did not end with Rome itself. He did much for the desolate Campagna. In this view his determination to end the murderous strife of Colonna and Orsini, whose continuation made rest impossible, may perhaps take on a better colour. The old scheme for the draining of the Pontine Marshes, the dream of many a master of Rome from Julius Cæsar onwards, was revived by him before his death. To him also we owe the foundation of the Capitoline Museum, the first of its kind in Rome or in Europe. As Ædile, man of letters, patron of art, and capable master of the material interests of the city of Rome, Sixtus IV. fills a large space. From that point of view he well deserved the tomb in St. Peter's which, with peculiar fitness, was prepared for him by the great Renascence artist, Antonio Pollaiuolo. For the religious or spiritual element in the nature of him for whom he made that sepulchre affected Pollaiuolo very little. Eager, earnest searcher after all the physical, natural, artistic truths that underlay his art; anatomist; master of perspective; technician in the first degree, Pollaiuolo had drawn away from the sweeter, more spiritual vision of the earlier sculptors as from a thing fit for mothers and for children. Goldsmith, painter, modeller, as he proudly signs himself above the *Caritas* of this same monument, he was master in each craft—master of the knowledge and the science which he and Sixtus alike exalted above the spirit which gives true life

to art, as to higher things. The vision of a Donatello, a Desiderio, a Rossellino, was not for Pollaiuolo. He saw with other eyes, and perhaps it was well. If there is little or nothing in the sumptuous tomb of Sixtus to tell us that a great Christian Bishop lies buried there—little, that is to say, beyond the Papal vestments and the stereotyped presence of the Virtues—we become conscious that it is not unfitting hat it should be so.

The tomb may be described as a marble platform raised a few feet above the level of the pavement, on the surface of which the bronze figure of the Pope in the round reclines at full length, the head and shoulders raised upon pillows. The surface is bordered by bronze reliefs of three theological and four cardinal Virtues, while the concave sides and ends of the platform have larger bronze reliefs of the liberal arts, following the curve of the marble. Here are Geometry and Arithmetic, Grammar and Rhetoric, Theology and Philosophy, Dialectic and Perspective—the latter appearing for the first and last time in the course of Italian art.

The head of Sixtus is a magnificent realistic piece of work, convincing as a portrait. One is well persuaded that one is looking on the very face of Sixtus. It is no part of Pollaiuolo's art to give an interpretation of character, an ideal version of this astounding man; it is his only to give him as he was—and as the man, so also the vestments, jewel for jewel on tiara and cope. The Virtues are there at the side, because they are of old the proper garnish of a Churchman's grave—figures of the highest craftsmanship, studied in their intricate, involved

draperies above the well-understood nude forms beneath by one who was a master of the possibilities of bronze, whether it was a Pope, or a Virtue, or a science that had to be presented. But the liberal arts came nearer to his heart, and he renders them with all his capacity. As masterpieces of metal-work they satisfy all the claims of the craftsman; as womanly figures they are pleasing, though over-tortured in the draperies and lacking in simplicity and grace; as complements to the general design they fill their places rightly. But they move us as little as they probably moved him who designed them in his masterly indifference to all save the science and the technics of his art. A great Renascence tomb by a great Renascence master, which, nevertheless, neither fires our imagination nor claims our love.

In saying that the tomb of Sixtus alone of all Papal tombs in St. Peter's before the days of Bramante wholly escaped destruction, the other tomb by Pollaiuolo, to Pope Innocent VIII., was not forgotten. But though much of that tomb has been preserved, it is no longer seen by us in its original place or form, the ponderous ill-suited cornices and corbels being no part of the original design. The monument, which was commissioned by the Cardinal Lorenzo Cibò — him of the S. Cosimato tomb — was executed some years after that of Sixtus, in 1498, the last year of Pollaiuolo's life. Once more the artist dealt with a personality whose animal robustness called for no ideal or spiritualized rendering. Innocent VIII. is one of that pair of Popes with whom the fifteenth century was to go out—men whose election to their office registers at once

Photo *Alinari.*

FIG. 51.—INNOCENT VIII. (S. PIETRO IN VATICANO).

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the low-water mark of European morals and the paralysis of public opinion, which should have averted it. For the significance of these two Papacies lay not so much in the intrinsic moral of the men—Æneas Sylvius (Pius II.) had in his youth been, by his own confession, profligate—but in the fact that things which had before been, at any rate, regarded as in the nature of a scandal, something which still needed at least some nominal repentance and repudiation, just as Pius repudiated the old life of Æneas Sylvius, had now become hardly more than an awkward incongruity, which was openly and unblushingly acknowledged. Those who, at the Conclave of 1484, elected Gianbattista Cibò as Pope were well aware that in his youth, before the days of his priesthood, he was the father of illegitimate children. The number is uncertain:[1] two only are known to us by name, Franceschetto and Teodorina. Others speak of three; with others it becomes nine; and the charity of the Roman lampooner soon multiplied it to sixteen. Innocent's father, a Genoese, had served high posts under the Royal Family of Naples, had been Viceroy of Sicily, Senator of Rome. Innocent had genial, even princely, manners and a handsome presence. Presently his son Franceschetto was married to Maddalena, daughter of Lorenzo dei Medici,[2] when

[1] Cardella describes the family as 'numerosa ed onesta,' and adds the naive comment: 'Quale trattava con tale soavità e moderazione che rendevasi oggetto di stupore.'

[2] A year later Giovanni dei Medici, brother of Maddalena, afterwards Pope as Leo X., became Cardinal, at the age of eighteen.

Clarice Orsini, her mother, entered Rome in high procession, and there were great doings in the city in honour of the marriage of the first-born of their Pope. A year or two later, when Teodorina's daughter Peretta—Teodorina had married Uso del Mare, a Genoese—was married to Alfonso del Carretto, Marchese di Finale, the Vatican saw a sight which it had never seen before, when the Pope sat at table with his daughter Teodorina, his son's wife, Maddalena dei Medici, the bride Peretta, and many another lady, with Cardinals and cavaliers in plenty. The wedding feast was repeated with far greater splendour when Battistina, another granddaughter, was wedded to Don Luigi, grandson of Ferrante of Naples. And so the tradition of the Vatican that no woman should sit at meat with the Pope passed out of sight for the present in this blaze of magnificent entertainments. Innocent's successor was, indeed, to better the instruction. Meanwhile, the corruption which had marked the days of his predecessor went rapidly from bad to worse, apart from the fact that his own fiscal administration was venal to a degree. Innocent had not the masterful nature nor the strong hand of Sixtus to repress the wrongdoing of others. The condition of the city sensibly went back towards the disorder and savagery of earlier days, and when Innocent VIII. had passed away, Rome was ready for the reign of Alexander VI.

We have, as I have said, portions of the tomb, but those portions, no doubt, which gave to its character that of strong, impressive portraiture. Pollaiuolo adopted a method not uncommon in earlier art—visible, for

instance, in the Angevin tombs of Naples—namely, the representation of the subject twice over, once as living and once as dead. In both cases Pollaiuolo has produced a figure which, once seen, can never be forgotten. Especially is this true of the seated figure of Innocent, with his hand outstretched in act of blessing. The tomb is now high up upon the wall, ill-lighted and troublesome to see; but it is safe to say that for strong, impressive realism, which conveys to the mind an almost appalling sense of the personality, few statues of the fifteenth century of the Renascence can be compared to it. It afforded, indeed, to Pollaiuolo exactly the opportunity which was suited to his strength. Above, in the lunette, we have the relief of the 'theological' Virtues of Faith, Charity, Hope, and on either side the four cardinal Virtues—Temperance, Fortitude, Prudence, and Justice. Innocent had stood in need of their presence before. These latter are far more beautiful than those of the tomb of Sixtus, and if they do not convince us as expressing the inner essence of that which they represent, they are free from the charge of monotonous insipidity, which by this time marked these ancient conventions in the tombs of Rome. Pollaiuolo was fortunate in his two commissions. One is forced to wonder what he would have made of Alexander VI. If he cannot claim to have left us in Rome the tombs which we can view with most affection, he can perhaps claim that in them he came nearest of any to the personality of the men whom he had to represent.

It may here be noticed that in S. Pietro in Vincoli, on the left of the entrance door, will be found the small and

unobtrusive monument of Antonio and Pietro Pollaiuolo, a work of no great merit, apparently from the workshop of Bregno ; while that of Bregno himself († 1506) is to be found, no longer in its right place, in a dark passage leading from the Minerva cloister to the Biblioteca Casanatense.

CHAPTER X

GIAN CRISTOFORO ROMANO AND ANDREA SANSOVINO

ALTHOUGH the purpose of this book is to deal with the Renascence monuments of Rome up to the end of the fifteenth century, it is obvious that no such hard-and-fast line exists as suddenly to place, at an arbitrary point, an abrupt barrier to the career of a given artist or to the progress of a given art. And in giving some account of the work of artists whose lives overlap the century, one emphasizes, rather than obscures, the true characteristics of that century.

Gian Cristoforo Romano, son of Isaia da Pisa, born in Rome apparently about the year 1465, is said by Vasari to have been trained in the workshop of Paolo Romano (Paolo di Nisio), a statement apparently corroborated in recent years by the supposed discovery of a document of 1484, already referred to,[1] in the Archivio Sancta Sanctorum, which would show that the Pietro Mellini tomb, whose fragments remain in the Popolo Church, was done by 'Paulus Marmorarius cum discipulo suo Io Xphoro,' the 'ingenuæ tabulæ pilastræque' being carved by Cristoforo, while the figure was the work 'supra dicti Pauli de Urbe.'

[1] See p. 80.

A second alleged document, of November 14, 1485, seemed to show that the graceful little Albertoni monument in the same church was commissioned to Paolo, who assigns the task of carving the sleeping figure—a thing of real beauty—to his disciple Nicolà (Ciumere), while to Gian Cristoforo were entrusted once more the ornaments of the tomb. And lest the work should suffer by the juvenile ardour ('juvenili ardore') of the pair—Cristoforo was only nineteen—Paolo undertakes to oversee the work. So ran the supposed documents which Paolo Giordani published. Here, then, we seemed to have indication of the special direction of Gian Cristoforo's talent towards ornament rather than towards free statuary. He had been trained, like many another great Italian artist, as a goldsmith and a cameo-cutter and gem-cutter, perhaps before his entry to the workshop of Paolo. The double training gave him his skill as a medallist, in which art he has left valuable memorials, such as the two medals of Julius II., those of Isabella of Aragon, Isabella d'Este, Sannazzaro, the Neapolitan poet, and others. But though he bears the name of Romano, his activities lay, during the greater part of his life, elsewhere than in Rome itself. In 1486, when he was twenty-one years old, he received commission to do a statue of S. Pietro for the steps of the basilica, a work which has not been traced. But a few years later he had left Rome, and we find him at Milan, Pavia, Cremona, Mantua, Venice, Naples, Loreto, the much-sought favourite of many Courts. He was, indeed, one of those many-sided men, though not on quite the highest platform, which the Renascence produced in such abundance. A

sculptor, goldsmith, medallist, man of letters—we learn incidentally that he was also a good musician—he had all the qualities which should make him acceptable at a Court. In 1491 he is at Milan, and has wrought a bust of Beatrice d'Este, the young wife of Lodovico il Moro—a work which already has brought him within the ken of her sister, Isabella d'Este, who, in a letter to Beatrice, makes claim upon his services. But Gian Cristoforo was already full of commissions for other magnates—for the Marchese Stanga of Cremona, for the tomb of Gian Galeazzo[1] at the Certosa of Pavia, which bears his signature—and the masterful art-loving lady had to wait till the popular Roman should find interval to execute for her the charming portal of her boudoir, the 'Paradiso,' of her palace at Mantua. And so, with accumulating commissions for tombs—such as the Trecchi monument in Sta. Agata, Cremona, (a tasteless work), medals for Isabella d'Este and for Isabella of Aragon, tazzas, jewels—his time was occupied till, late in 1506, he was summoned to Rome by Julius II. It was during this visit that the Laocoon was found in the *vigna* on the Sette Sale, belonging to Felice de Fredis. Incidentally, it is mentioned by Trivulzio that Gian Cristoforo was, with Michelangelo, reckoned the leading sculptor of the day in Rome, and that he and the great Florentine were sent for to examine the group, which they, as a result, denied to be of one block, as had been asserted. During this same visit to Rome, Gian

[1] Benedetto Brusco and Galeazzo Perugino were his assistants on this tomb. To the former is due the Madonna, a poor work, which bears his signature on the toe.

Cristoforo executed his well-known medal of Julius without the beard.

But the years of his sojourn in the city which had given him his name, 1506 and part of 1507—for he was back in Naples in the latter year—perhaps produced two works of more direct interest to our immediate subject. We have already referred to the documents quoted by Paolo Giordani, which remain under doubt. He published at the same time entries from the book of the Confraternità di Santo Spirito, with reference to the burial in the Popolo Church of that Cardinal, Bernardino Lonate, who, in 1497, had shared with Borgia's son Gandia, murdered in that same year, in the defeat at Soriano by the Orsini. Gandia was wounded, and so, too, it would seem, was Lonate, though the accounts are not quite clear; and Guidobaldo of Urbino fell into the hands of Vitellozzo and Carlo Orsini. Lonate, wounded or not wounded, never recovered from the exhaustion of that day, and was dead before the year was out. It was not in Alexander's days that he was to find his final resting-place. The alleged entry would show that it was not till 1506, in the Papacy of Julius II., that his bones were placed beneath the costly tomb in the transept of the Popolo, 'in lo monumento de mano de M° Xphoro.' The same register is quoted by Giordani as recording, under the year 1507, the burial of Lodovico Podocatharo, the Greek of Nicosia, Archbishop of Benevento, physician to Innocent VIII., who, in 1504, died at the age of seventy-five, and lies beneath the tomb in the Popolo also assigned by the register to Gian Cristoforo.

FIG. 52.—BERNARDINO LONATE (POPOLO).

Photo *Alinari.*

FIG. 53.—ASCANIO SFORZA (POPOLO).

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The two monuments, from whatever hand they come, are typical not merely of the art of the sculptor from whose studio they came, but of the change that had already come over the spirit and was altering the direction of the earlier Renascence. It does not affect the question that in both monuments, even if they come from the *bottega* of Gian Cristoforo, the chisel of assistants seems to have taken a more than ordinary share; it is very greatly in evidence in the Podocatharo tomb, which owes little or nothing to the 'mano de Xphoro.' The design, the thought which governs it, the value set upon its component qualities, are typical of the rapid change that had overtaken the spirit of the art. The Lonate tomb, well-proportioned, richly ornamented, skilfully, though unfeelingly, chiselled, is an expression of the cost which may be made in such a monument, and of the pompous emptiness which may obscure the dignity of the tomb. But of any expression of deep reverence, of tender human affection, of the vigour and usefulness of life, or the quiet, unquestioned sleep of death, there is no feeling at all. The relief of the Almighty in the pediment—the work, surely, of an inferior scholar—is unworthy beyond words. The relief of the Resurrection, with its theatrical chief actor holding a huge pennon between two reliefs of Roman soldiers, in which the sculptor seems to have considered the monstrous axes to have been the most interesting thought, is almost painful in its pedantic unreality. The saints in the four niches on either side seem to be there merely because they have to be, and the *putti*, with reversed torches, who lean upon the shields below weep under-

taker's tears. The frieze, capitals, and ornamental portions are skilful and excellent examples of their kind; and the sarcophagus, with the recumbent Lonate—which the sculptor, Gian Cristoforo or other, seems to have reserved especially for his own chisel—is academic work of irreproachable accuracy. Yet the whole calls up no single human feeling which a tomb should produce. It is more fair to apply such criticism to the Lonate monument than to its neighbour, the Podocatharo, because it is undoubtedly more valuable as a work of art. The Podocatharo, far more of a workshop production, owing little to the master's own chisel, is not so well-proportioned, the details more congested, the ornament less refined. The relief of the Pietà below is of better quality, but certainly not of Gian Cristoforo's own hand. It is obvious that the documentary evidence which would assign either monument to Gian Cristoforo is too much under suspicion to be used in argument; but I am certainly inclined to think that, if the quoted entries are forgeries, the original forger (not, of course, Signor Giordani, into whose hands they passed) was well advised in attributing the Lonate tomb to Gian Cristoforo. But the truth of what has been said above and what is to follow does not depend upon the authorship of the tombs, which tell the same story, whoever made them.

Now, here we are brought face to face with the essence of the change which was to divide the work of the sculptors of the middle of the fifteenth century in Rome—often imperfect, incompetent, monotonous in the expression of few ideas under few forms—from the competent, accomplished dexterity of the men who more properly belong to

the opening of the sixteenth, and who were content to employ that dexterity and to display their power not so much in the expression of ideas as in the production of academic excellence often remote from any moving thought. It appears to be the law—certainly hitherto it has shown itself in the development of every art in the world with which we are acquainted—that the stages of art which have to struggle for their means of expression will, perhaps, through the very restraining, reserving, purifying influences of that struggle, tell you their tale, express their ideas more appealingly and, after all, more expressively than the same art when it has reached, later on, its full powers of speech and expression. As a child, armed only with the simplest weapons of speech, unable to find all that it would use if it could, will succeed as it tells its tale in coming nearer to the heart than the most accomplished master of fluent narrative, so, too, it seems to be the penalty of full-grown knowledge that it seeks in vain to recover the moving power, the charm, and even the pathos of its less accomplished days. It is amongst the most striking facts of human life that in any age the man who is born into it enters into the heritage, not merely of the accumulated knowledge of the ages, but of that which at first sight seems only possible to each individual by a laborious personal process—namely, a special stage of technical skill. The modeller of the sixteenth century has not to begin where the carver of the mammoth of the Dordogne caves—perhaps with as capable a hand and brain as his own—had to begin; he does not take it up at the stage where the sculptors of Selinus or of Branchidæ

had to struggle with their ignorance of form; nor at the still more uncouth stages of the predecessors of Nicolò Pisano; nor even at the stage with which that great artist himself had to be content. But he can, with no more time and labour than any of these had to give to acquire the furniture of their art, build himself up to the level of the most accomplished modelling and carving which, so far, has been achieved. He has had the privilege of jumping all the stages that once lay between the infancy and adolescence of art: it is truer to say they have been jumped for him. But with the privilege comes the penalty. He has been born to the stage in which the labour, the enthusiasm, the half-painful effort to express himself has been missed by the sculptor. He is furnished with a ready-made set of formulæ, and is master of the facility with which they can be produced. In the wealth of these formulæ, in the exuberance of this facile technique, the idea counts for little; and in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century a still further inducement to let the idea take care of itself was added to the sculptor's danger —namely, the blind assent to all classical forms and formulæ merely because they were classical. Few causes conduced so infallibly to the paralysis of idea, which presently was to prostrate the art of Italy, as this omnivorous acceptance of any classical motive, however meaningless, however low down in the standard of the Roman art which had given it birth. The sculptor of the day rather sank to the level of the supply than heightened the standard of the demand. If a Raffaele Riario and collectors of his type were content to produce their admira-

tion and their ducats for anything which came to the surface, from the Laocoon or the Torso Belvedere to some Roman statue from a mason's yard which had once done duty in a third-rate Roman garden, the sculptor of the day could supply his patron with motives enough from the same source which were secure of an uncritical acceptance. It counted for nothing that the motives often came from the types and the period of Roman art which, themselves the echo of a nobler day and nobler art, had long outlived their vitality, and, when taken over into modern work, expressed no idea either in heathen or in Christian art. They were Roman: it was enough. The griffons on the tomb of a Cardinal, that vomited graceful traceries or lashed their tails into unexpected but exquisite acanthi, were Roman: it was enough. The Gorgon-like heads from whose tortured mouths grew the festoons and arabesques on the sarcophagus of a Bishop perhaps had no meaning; they represented no symbol, they expressed no idea; but they were Roman: it was enough. If they appeared on monuments like those of the choir of the Popolo, where the architectural proportions were, in the main, acceptable and the sculpture wrought with some sense of beauty, they were more than enough.

And what has been said of Gian Cristoforo, if it was he who sculptured the tombs in the Popolo, applies with greater force to Andrea Sansovino, since Andrea was incomparably more able as an architect and a sculptor and had a far higher sense of beauty than the Roman sculptor, with a far more sensitive chisel. He stands admittedly high among the Renascence sculptors of the day, and

two tombs in the choir of the Popolo are certainly among his masterpieces. There was that in the lives and natures of the two men whose memorials, at the bidding of Julius, he was called on to raise which might have inspired great thoughts, conceptions that stirred men's souls to their depths. One wonders what sort of allegories Michelangelo might have created out of the lives of the two men. It would have been hard to offer to a sculptor two lives so typical and yet so different. Girolamo Basso della Rovere, as we have had to say elsewhere, the nephew of one Pope, the cousin of another, was, in an age which the Podocatharo monument rightly describes as 'difficillima,' a man of high and honourable life, who escaped in a libellous day all the breath of scandal, and who, through the reigns of Sixtus, Innocent, the Borgia, used his high qualities in trying to do his duty, and kept his feet out of the mire of Italian politics. Ascanio Maria Sforza is, on the other hand, the type of the Prince-Cardinal of the day. He was the youngest of three brothers, sons of the great Francesco Sforza of Milan. The eldest brother was that Gian Galeazzo who was murdered; the second brother was the celebrated Lodovico il Moro, who by the disappearance of his young nephew—by causes fair or foul, it is uncertain—became Lord of Milan. It is certain that Bona of Savoy, the boy's mother and regent, had feared danger also from Ascanio, whom she banished in 1477. In Rome from that time forward he found an outlet for his ambition. Sixtus made him a Cardinal, in reward, it was said, for the hand of Caterina Sforza, daughter of Lodovico, bestowed on Girolamo Riario. Ascanio, the holder of many

benefices, which yielded an income of 30,000 ducats, lived the life of a Prince in his palace (Cesarini), where he maintained an armed retinue, which more than once caused trouble in Rome. Like Scarampo before him, he kept innumerable horses, hawks, and hounds. The chronicler who describes his magnificence and his state adds that 'it is also true that he was universally courteous and generous to the poor.' When, in 1492, Ferrantino, son of Alfonso of Calabria, came to Rome, it fell to Ascanio's lot to entertain the Prince, with his train of 900 horsemen, in his newly acquired Cesarini Palace, the price which the Borgia had paid him for his support at his election. Ascanio was more than equal to the occasion—the very strange occasion—on which the Neapolitan courtiers were found, according, it seems, to custom, to have looted their rooms to the very carpets on their departure. Two years later Ascanio and Giuliano rode, on either side, at the bridle of Charles VIII. when he entered Rome. It was for Lorenzo Cibò this time to undertake the ruinous task of entertaining the French King at the Palazzo di Venezia. It was for Domenico della Rovere to undertake the task again, a few weeks later, in the Palazzo dei Penitenzieri, and to sit cheek by jowl with 'lo piu bruto viso che havesse mai uomo.' It was close to Ascanio's palace that the Duke of Gandia was last seen alive, an hour or two before the mysterious masked rider on the white horse brought down the body of the Pope's dead son to the Ripetta, near the Church of the Schiavoni, and flung it, under the eyes of the charcoal-burner, into the Tiber. In those terrible few days when men went a-fishing for the

murdered man Alexander suspected, or affected to suspect, Ascanio of the deed, of which he was obviously guiltless. But Gandia a few days before had carried off Ascanio's Chamberlain to the Vatican, and there had him strangled, which gave some colour to the suggestion. The Borgia, learning to look elsewhere for the author of his son's death, left Ascanio unmolested, but a year or two later, on other grounds, deprived him of his purple, which was, however, afterwards restored. Ascanio had always had his hands deep in the intrigues of his day. Once, at the Conclave which elected Alexander, he had seemed to stand first as a candidate for the Papacy—might even have succeeded if his name had not been Sforza. He sold his chance to Borgia, and, if he lived to rue it, he had little to complain of. He had played the great game of politics, and always for his own hand and for the House of Sforza of Milan. He played once more and lost. In the war between Milan and Venice he was taken prisoner, and by the Signoria handed over to the King of France, in spite of the anathema of Alexander, who wanted to have in his own possession a chessman so valuable to his game. The fortunes of the Sforza had departed, and while Lodovico lay in the dungeon of Loches, which he was never to leave alive, Ascanio, after several years at Bourges, was sent back—Borgia being now in his grave—to Rome, where he died, a broken man, in 1505, after three days' illness 'of plague or poison,' says Cardella, according to the usual formula. But the need for poisoning Ascanio was gone, and they were natural means which brought him to the sumptuous tomb which his once enemy and rival Giuliano,

now Julius II., bestowed upon him in the favourite Church of the della Rovere.

Here were two lives in strange contrast, yet each possessing elements to fire, if in very different fashion and to very different results, the spirit of a sculptor. Yet the tombs of Girolamo Basso and of Ascanio are almost twins in design and feeling. There is nothing to suggest that the two men were of very different character or of any special character at all. The work is able, skilful, academically accurate, and impeccable in the highest degree. The architectural features are, of their kind, also excellent, as, indeed, one would expect of one who is the typical architect-sculptor of his date. For whereas the earlier fifteenth-century men, except Brunelleschi and Bernardo Rossellino, and a few others, were sculptors in the first place and architects in the second, the men of the later day were architects in the first place. The sculpture, however, of the tombs—that of Ascanio's is the better—without expressing any idea worth remembering, is of good quality. The Virtues which guard Girolamo and Ascanio alike—those of Ascanio are the more pleasing—are acceptable and amiable young women, studied from excellent models, who make no claim to individuality, but play their part pleasingly and with grace. You might—except in the case of Ascanio's Fortitude, who wears Roman armour and has dressed the part—exchange the instruments which proclaim their identity without loss or gain of character. The Fortitude of Basso might exchange her pillar with the vessels of the Temperance or the sword of the Justice, and no one could resent the

change. But it is when one comes to the reclining figure that the chief departure from the old ideal is most visible. We have often, in the course of this book, had to see how continuous, in the work of the older sculptors, is the ideal of death as a gentle sleep, even till the motive incurs the charge of monotony, redeemed only from it by some special beauty or sweetness in the handling of the sculptor. From this ideal Sansovino makes departure. In both cases the figure lies sideways, the knees a little drawn up, the head uneasily resting on the raised elbow. Burger has made the suggestion, with much probability, that the attitude was adapted from the Etruscan Cippi, common finds then as now; but in the case of the Etruscans the figure was intended to be awake, alive, as at a feast whereat the last libation had been poured from the *patera* still held in the hand. The transference of the motive—if such it was—to the figure on a Christian monument where the meaning should presumably be that of one who sleeps till the great awakening, is possible only on the supposition that Sansovino had lost his sense of fitness in his adulation of a motive derived from the antique. However this may be, the result is not rest, but restlessness. If Girolamo and Ascanio sleep, it is the painful sleep of a headache—all sense of taking rest in sleep is gone. The figures, too, are undignified, unconvincing. No one can persuade himself that the podgy, pillowy, commonplace shape in the Cardinal's mitre is the Ascanio of the tragic life. There is not the excuse at hand of Pollaiuolo's Sixtus, with its little sense of rest; for that presents a strong individuality, a portrait of the

man as he lived. Here there is no sense of portraiture; it is a mere Sansovino symbol, and a very poor one, like the Basso opposite, of the dead Cardinal. Once more one is brought back to the thought: What sort of an allegory would Michelangelo have made out of this terrible, typical, stirring life, which cut the circles of so much crime, which came in touch with so much power, which was arrayed in so much splendour, which faded out into so much misery?

It is customary to lay to the charge of Michelangelo all the crimes and the banalities which followed him, or lived alongside of him in his later days, in Italian art. He was, says one great and competent authority, the great unconscious corrupter of the Renascence. But there is another and a juster view. The lines of the Renascence — it is surely a mere matter of art history —were well set; they had taken the direction from which there was no returning — in Sansovinos and Sangallos, and in lesser men, such as Gian Cristoforo—before ever Michelangelo had set chisel to the Moses or climbed the scaffold of the Sistine. Remove, mentally, Michelangelo from the scene, together with every work which he ever accomplished. Can anyone doubt that the art of Sangallo and Gian Cristoforo, of the two Sansovinos, and of Sta. Croce, would have run on in their own lines through the Cellinis and the Leonis, the Ammanatis, and the Bandinellis, to a banality, an emptiness of idea and ideal, a satisfaction with the dead bones of classical formularies, as complete as, more complete than, that which it achieved at the hands of men who imitated Michelangelo without comprehending him? To me it seems true of

sixteenth-century art that it had, before the century began, already set out on the road which was eventually to lead downwards to Bernini. Its sin, for which it was to pay penalty, was that it had taken over a spirit which was the absolute contradiction of the very essence of Michelangelo's art—a spirit which sacrificed the idea, the thought, the essentially moving element in its art, to the outward forms and technics of its more advanced knowledge. With Michelangelo, as it had been with Donatello a century before, the idea, the thought which underlay all material and was to be hewn from it, was wrapped up in technique which was to be a mere means of its expression. And this use of the human form, with all its possibilities as a grammar of that expression, was, in his art, as contrary in its essence and in its result to the work of a Sansovino as the Zeus of Pheidias to the Medici Venus. To Andrea Sansovino, and to his follower Jacopo, and to their kin, the technique and the dexterity, the mastery over marble, the command of a great vocabulary of outward forms, had become, not a means to an end, but an end in itself. He who looks at the slaves of the Louvre (which should have stood about the tomb of Julius), and, going thence to the Popolo tombs by Sansovino, sees in them any kinship to the spirit of Michelangelo, or realizes any direction given to art by the latter which would not have flowed, without his existence, from the work of the former, but in an even weaker, more banal, less earnest channel than it was doomed to follow, must have read the riddle of Michelangelo to small purpose. The banalities of the Renascence of the late sixteenth century—the Roman churches are full

of them—came not because the overpowering genius of Michelangelo arose at a time when the lines of it were well set, but because the day of its senility—the senility which has overtaken all developments of art when once they have grown beyond their adolescence—was fully ripe. The true lesson of the later Renascence—its decay, its fall, its burial—is to be read, not in the aisle of S. Pietro in Vincoli, nor on the vault of the Sistine, but in the tombs of the transept and the choir of Sta. Maria del Popolo.

PART II

(*a*) ALPHABETICAL LIST OF ROMAN CHURCHES MENTIONED IN THIS BOOK

Sta. Agnese.
S. Agostino.
Cloisters (Ministry of Marine).
S. Alessio.
S. Andrea della Valle.
S. Antonio Abate.
SS. Apostoli.
Sta. Balbina.
S. Bartolommeo in Isola.
Sta. Bibiana.
Sta. Cecilia in Trastevere.
S. Cesareo.
S. Clemente.
S. Cosimato.
SS. Cosma e Damiano.
Sta. Costanza.
S. Crisogomo.
Sta. Croce in Gerusalemme.
S. Eustachio.
Sta. Francesca Romana (Sta. M. Nuova).
S. Francesco a Ripa.
S. Giacomo degli Incurabili.
S. Giacomo degli Spagnuoli.
S. Giorgio in Velabro.
S. Giovanni dei Genovesi.
S. Giovanni in Laterano.
S. Gregorio Magno, *or* in Monte Celio.
S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura.
S. Lorenzo in Damaso.
S. Lorenzo in Panisperna.
S. Marcello.
S. Marco.
Sta. Margherita in Piazza Lancellotti.
Sta. M. Araceli.
Sta. M. Aventina. See Priorato.
Sta. M. della Consolazione.

Sta. M. della Pace.
Sta. M. del Popolo.
Cortile.
Sta. M. del Priorato di Malta. See Priorato.
Sta. M. di Monserrato.
Cortile.
Sta. M. in Trastevere.
Sta. M. Maggiore.
Sta. M. Sopra Minerva.
Cloisters (Ministry of Education).
S. Martino ai Monti.
S. Omobuono.
S. Onofrio.
S. Paolo fuori le Mura.
S. Pietro in Vaticano.
Crypt (*Grotte Vaticane*).
S. Pietro in Vincoli.
Sta. Prassede.
Priorato di Malta (Sta. M. Aventina).
SS. Quattro Coronati.
Sta. Saba.
Sta. Sabina.
S. Salvatore in Lauro.
S. Silvestro in Capite.
S. Tommaso di Canterbury (degli Inglesi).
S. Tommaso in Formis.

(*b*) CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE MOST IMPORTANT TOMBS OF ROME

Year of Death.[1]	Name.
1123.	Card. Alfanus. Porch of Sta. M. in Cosmedin.
1255.	Card. Bernardo Caracciolo. Lateran.
1256.	Card. Guglielmo dei Fieschi. S. Lorenzo F.M.
1265.	*Pope Clement IV. Viterbo* (*tomb of* 1269).
1276-1280 (?).	Savelli family tomb. Araceli.
1276.	Card. Riccardo Annibaldi. Lateran.
1276.	*Pope Gregory X. Duomo of Arezzo.*
1277.	*Hadrian V. Viterbo.*
1282.	*Card. Braye. S. Domenico, Orvieto.*

[1] The date at which the tomb was made is often some years later than the year of death. Tombs in other cities than Rome, inserted for comparison, are printed in italics.

Year of Death.	Name.	
1286.	Card. Ancherus de Troyes. Sta. Prassede.	
1287.	Card. de Clavis (Chiavez). Lateran.	
1287.	Card. Clusiano da Casate. Lateran.	
1288.	Honorius IV. Araceli.	
1288.	Petrus Savelli (slab-stone). S. Alessio.	
1294.	Card. Latino Frangipane Malabranca. Minerva.	
1294.	Stefano dei Surdi. Sta. Balbina (tomb of 1300).	
1296.	Bp. William Durando or Durante. Minerva.	
1299.	Card. Gonsalvo Rodriguez. Sta. M. Maggiore.	
1300.	Munio de Zamorra. Sta. Sabina.	
1302.	Card. Matteo d' Acquasparta. Araceli.	
1302.	Gerardo di Parma. Lateran.	
1302.	Card. Pietro Valeriano Duraguerra da Piperno. Lateran.	
1303.	Pope Boniface VIII. Grotte Vaticane.	
1305.	*Pope Benedict XI. S. Domenico, Perugia.*	
1310.	Petrus Alli de Allis (slab). Araceli.	
1312	(May 25). Knight Marshal Ekebertus Creccil (slab). Araceli.	Retainers of Emperor Henry VII., killed in street fighting in the summer, during the attempts to reach the Vatican.
	(May 26). Egidius de Varnsberg, Abbot of Weissenburg (slab). Sta. Sabina.	
	(June 1). Chamberlain Eberardus de Erlach (slab). Araceli.	
	(June 4). Chaplain Egidius de Vilika (slab). Sta. Sabina.	

Year of Death.	Name.	
1312 (June 6).	Notary Petrus Andreæ Lutii de Callio (slab). Araceli.	Retainers of Emperor Henry VII., killed in street fighting in the summer, during the attempts to reach the Vatican.
(June 17).	Armiger Gozo de Husbergen (slab). Sta. Sabina.	
(Nov. 11).	Notary Franciscus de Imola. Araceli.	
1312.	Petrus de Barciis. Araceli.	
No date.	Matteo di Oddone Colonna, Canon. S. Lorenzo in Panisperna.	
1313.	Matteo Scriviano (slab). Araceli.	
1313.	*Card. Riccardo Petroni. Duomo, Siena.*	
1315.	Perna Savelli (slab). Sta. Sabina.	
1315.	Ocilenda da Manganella (slab). Sta. Sabina.	
1317.	Fusci di Berta (slab). S. Pietro in Montorio.	
No date.	Giovanni Montopoli, chemist, pilgrim. Sta. Prassede.	
1317.	*Gastone della Torre. Sta. Croce, Florence.*	
1330.	The Abbess Bibiana dei Salvetti. Sta. Bibiana.	
1336.	*Bp. Orso. Duomo, Florence.*	
1346.	Pietro di Gregorio Charanzois (slab). S. Martino ai Monti.	
1351.	The Abbess Lucia (slab). Sta. Bibiana.	
1374.	Giovanni de Mellis (slab). Minerva.	
1375.	Domenico Pietro de' Leoni (slab). Sta. Sabina.	
1388.	Giovanni Carbone (slab). Sta. Prassede.	
1389.	Pope Urban VI. Grotte Vaticane.	
1390.	Lelli Maddaleno, merchant (slab). Minerva.	

Year of Death.	Name.
1393.	Paolo Gogio, merchant (slab). Minerva.
1395.	Grand Master Ricardo Caracciolo. Priorato di Malta.
1397.	Card. Philippe d' Alençon. Sta. M. in Trastevere.
1397.	Card. Vulcani or Bulcani. Sta. Francesca Romana (tomb of about 1412).
1398.	Card. Adam Eston or Easton. Sta. Cecilia (tomb several years later).
1400.	Petrus de Surdis (slab). Sta. Cecilia.
1403.	Petrus del Lante (slab). Araceli.
1403.	Fusci de Zachariis (slab). Araceli.
1405.	*Ilaria da Carretto. S. Martino, Lucca.*
1406.	Pope Innocent VII. Grotte Vaticane.
1412.	Card. Aguzzone (slab). Sta. Francesca Romana.
1417.	Card. Pietro Stefaneschi. Sta. M. in Trastevere.
1419.	*Pope John XXIII. Baptistery, Florence* (*tomb* 1427).
1422.	Card. Pietro Fonseca. Grotte Vaticane.
1427.	Card. Francesco Landi. Scalone of Sta. M. Maggiore.
1431.	Pope Martin V. Lateran.
1432.	Card. Ardicino della Porta, the elder. Grotte Vaticane.
1432.	Bp. Giovanni Crivelli (slab). Araceli.
1433.	Petrus Lupi (Lopez) de Olmeto (slab). S. Alessio.
1444.	*Leonardo Bruni. Sta. Croce, Florence.*
1447.	Pope Eugenius IV. S. Salvatore in Lauro.

Year of Death.	Name.
1447.	Card. Antonio de Martinez Chiaves di Portogallo. Lateran.
1449.	Niccolò di Forca Palena. S. Onofrio.
1450.	*Carlo Marsuppini. Sta. Croce, Florence.*
1450.	Card. Enrico Rampino (slab). S. Clemente.
1451.	Card. Astorgio Aginense. Minerva cloister.
1455.	Fra Angelico da Fiesole (slab). Minerva.
1455.	Pope Nicolas V. Tommaso Parentucelli. Grotte Vaticane.
1457.	Antonio Rido, Castellan of S. Angelo. Sta. Francesca Romana.
1457.	Bp. Giuseppe Brufi (slab on pier). S. Alessio.
1458.	Domenico Capranica. Minerva (tomb dated 1470).
1459.	*Card. Jacopo, Infante di Portogallo. S. Miniato, Florence.*
1464.	Pope Pius II. (Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini). S. Andrea della Valle.
1464.	Card. Nicolas de Cusa. S. Pietro in Vincoli.
1465.	Card. Ludovico Lebretto (Louis d'Albret). Araceli.
1465.	Sergio Seripandio. Sta. Sabina.
1465.	Canon Lorenzo Valla (humanist). Lateran.
1466.	*Bp. Leonardo Salutati. S. Domenico, Fiesole.* (*Tomb between* 1462-1464).
1466.	Card. Jacopo Tebaldi. Minerva.
1466.	Sta. Monica's tomb in S. Agostino.
1466.	*Bernardo Giugni. Badia, Florence.*
1467.	Card. Lodovico Mezzarota (Scarampo). S. Lorenzo in Damaso (figure of 1467, tomb of 1515).

Year of Death.	Name.
1467.	Card. Giovanni di Mella or Mila. Cortile of Sta. M. Monserrato.
1468.	Bp. Roderigo Sanchez. Cortile of Sta. M. Monserrato.
1470.	Tabernacle of S. Andrea (Isaia da Pisa, and Paolo Romano). Grotte Vaticane.
1471.	Pope Paul II. (Marco Barbo). Grotte Vaticane.
1472.	Card. Bessarion. SS. Apostoli cloisters.
1473.	Card. Niccolò Forteguerra. Sta. Cecilia.
1473.	Card. Pietro Riario. SS. Apostoli (tomb of 1477).
1473.	Francesco di Anguillara (slab). S. Francesco a Ripa.
No date.	Maddalena Orsini. S. Salvatore.
1474.	Card. Alanus Cetivus. Sta. Prassede.
1475.	Bp. Filippo de Levis (upper figure). Sta. M. Maggiore.
1475.	Bp. Gian Andrea Bussi. S. Pietro in Vincoli.
1476.	Jacopo Bussi (slab). S. Pietro in Vincoli.
1476.	Petrus et Didacus Alamanin. Sta. M. Monserrato.
1476.	Card. Bartolommeo Roverella. S. Clemente.
1477.	Card. Cristoforo della Rovere. Popolo.
1477.	Raffaello della Rovere. SS. Apostoli (under church).
1477.	Bp. Didacus de Coca. Minerva (tomb later, 1480 [?]).
1477.	Constantia, mother of Jacopo Ammanati. S. Agostino cloister (Marina).
1478.	Card. Angelo Capranica. Minerva (tomb earlier).
1478.	Card. Pietro Ferrici (Tirasone). Minerva cloister.
1478.	Card. Gianbattista Mellini. Popolo.

Year of Death.	Name.
1478.	Caterina di Bosnia (slab on pier). Araceli.
1479.	Card. Jacopo Ammanati. Cloister of S. Agostino (Marina).
1479.	Francesco de Toledo. Cortile of Sta. M. Monserrato.
1479.	Card. Bernardo Eroli da Narni. Grotte Vaticane.
1479.	Card. Antonio Jacopo Venerio. S. Clemente.
1479.	Bp. Giovanni Montemirabili (slab). Popolo.
1480.	Francesco Tornabuoni. Minerva.
1481.	Milliardo Duce Cicada. S. Giovanni dei Genovesi.
1482.	Agapito Rustici. Minerva.
1482.	Card. Pietro Guglielmo Rocca. Popolo.
1482 (?).	Maddalena e Stefano Satri. S. Omobuono.
1482.	Diotisalvi Nerone. Minerva.
1483.	*Tommaso Piccolomini. Duomo, Siena.*
1483.	Pietro Mellini, jurist. Popolo.
1483.	Giovanni della Rovere. Popolo.
1483.	Card. Auxias de Podio. Sta. Sabina.
1484.	Gondisalvo de Veteta. Cortile of Sta. M. Monserrato.
1484.	Lorenzo Colonna, Lord of Marino. Portico of SS. Apostoli.
1484.	Pope Sixtus IV., Francesco della Rovere. S. Pietro in Vaticano (tomb of 1493).
1484.	Card. Stefano Nardini. Grotte Vaticane.
1485.	Archbp. Giov. Francesco Brusati. S. Clemente.
1485.	Marcantonio Albertoni. Popolo.
1485.	Bp. Alfonso Paradinas. Sta. M. Monserrato
1486.	Fernando de Cordova. Cortile, Sta. M. Monserrato.

Year of Death.	Name.
1486.	Bp. Pietro Foscari. Popolo.
1487.	Carlotta of Cyprus. Grotte Vaticane.
1488.	Bp. Nestore Malvizzi. Sacristy passage, Popolo.
1489.	Bp. Eustachio de Levis (lower figure). Sta. M. Maggiore.
1492.	Pope Innocent VIII., Giov. Battista Cibò. S. Pietro in Vaticano (tomb of 1498).
1493.	Card. Ardicino della Porta, the younger. Grotte Vaticane.
1494.	Filippo della Valle, physician. Araceli (tomb of 1496).
1494.	Benedetto Maffei. Minerva.
No date.	Antonio Maffei. Minerva.
1495.	Bp. Benedetto Sopranzi. Minerva.
1497.	Bp. Giovanni Andrea Bocciaccio, inquisitor. Cloister, Sta. Maria della Pace.
1497.	Card. Bernardo Lonate. Popolo (tomb of 1506).
1497.	Card. Gian Jacopo Sclafenati. S. Agostino cloister.
1498.	Antonio and Michele Bonsi. S. Gregorio Magno.
1498.	Bp. Juan de Fuensalida. Sta. M. Monserrato.
1498.	Antonio and Pietro Pollaiuolo. S. Pietro in Vincoli.
1498.	Lorenzo Gerusino. Sta. Margherita in Piazza Lancellotti.
No date.	Olaviero Furnario (probably about 1497). S. Agostino cloister.
1500.	Carlo Verardo, Papal secretary, poet. S. Agostino cloister.

Year of Death.	Name.
1503.	Card. Giovanni Michiele (1503) and Antonio Orso (1511). S. Marcello.
1503.	Card. Lorenzo Cibò. S. Cosimato.
1503.	Pius III., Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini. S. Andrea della Valle
1503.	Card. Giorgio Costa. Popolo (tomb prepared some twenty years earlier).
1504.	Antonio Lomellino. North porch of S. Agostino.
1504.	Card. Pietro dei Vincenti. Araceli.
1505.	Card. Ascanio Sforza. Popolo.
1505.	Cavaliere Girardo Anseduino. SS. Apostoli.
1505.	Lavinia and Beatrice Ponzetti. Sta. M. della Pace.
1506.	Card. Giovanni de Castro. Popolo.
1506.	Card. Lodovico Podocatharo. Popolo.
1506.	Didacus de Valdez. Sta. M. Monserrato.
1506.	Andrea Bregno. Passage from Minerva cloister.
1507.	Card. Antoniotto Pallavicini. Popolo.
1508.	Card. Basso della Rovere. Popolo.
1509.	Ponzetti family. Sta. M. della Pace.
1514.	Card. Christopher Bainbridge of York. S. Tommaso degli Inglesi.

(*c*) PRINCIPAL SCULPTURED TOMBS OF ROME (1100-1500) ARRANGED UNDER CHURCHES, WITH BRIEF BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES

Where the attribution of a work, or portion of a work, is attested by document, a star (*) is placed against the name of the artist; where the attribution rests on the statement of Vasari, V.; of Alberti, A.; of Cicerone, Cic.; of less frequently recurring authorities, by the whole name. Attributions which rest upon apparent evidences of style have no mark.

The biographical notices are compiled from various sources. Considerable diversity of statement is found in these authorities on points of detail. Where it seems necessary to quote the authority the following abbreviations are used:

C.	= Cardella.	L.P.	= Ludwig Pastor.
Ci.	= Ciacconius (or Chacon).	Cr.	= Bishop Creighton.
G.V.	= Gaspar Veronensis.	V.	= Vasari.
I.	= Infessura.	M.V.	= Milanesi's Notes on Vasari.
Bt.	= Burckhardt.	A.D.	= the Abbot Dionysius.
Gr.	= Gregorovius.	D.D.	= D. Dufresne.

Where the biography of any specially important person has been treated in the body of the work it is not repeated in this portion at length, but is referred to as 'see Index' or 'see pp. —.'

Abbreviations with reference to the position of any given work in the church, where such specification seems necessary:

Cl.	= cloister.	Sac.	= sacristy.
N.	= nave.	1st, 2d, 3rd, l. or r.	= first chapel, left or right, etc.
A.	= aisle (as Left A, left aisle).	Port°	= portico or vestibule.
Tr.	= transept.	Slab	= flat gravestone.
Ch.	= choir.	Sarc.	= sarcophagus.
E. W.	= entrance wall.		

Sta. AGNESE F.M. (2*d r.*).—One of the altars set up by Guglielmo de Pereriis, 1490; relief, St. Stephen and St. Laurence; workshop of A. Bregno.

S. AGOSTINO (*l. tr.*).—Sarc. with figure of Sta. Monica by Isaia da Pisa (Porcellio), the remains of the tomb made in 1466 to contain the ashes of the Saint brought hither from Ostia. Tomb dismantled at restoration of 1750. The relics of the saint were originally in S. Tryphone, but were moved here by Martin V. The tomb, with the exception of the sarc. and figure, was destroyed in 1760.

North Porch.—(*a*) Giovanni Antonio Lomellino, a Genoese († 1503).

(*b*) Four saints by Isaia da Pisa, probably from the tomb of Sta. Monica, should be compared with those in the tomb of Eugenius IV. in S. Salvatore in Lauro.

(*c*) Pietà. Fragment from a tomb assigned to Giovanni Dalmata.

Cloister (*now Ministry of Marina Reale*).—(*a*) Card. Jacopo Ammanati, sometimes called Piccolomini († September 10, 1479), born, of very poor ('miserabili,' C.) parents, near Lucca; owed the name of Piccolomini, whose arms he used, to the permission of his patron, Pius II. He went to Rome in 1450, and became secretary in the austere home of Card. Domenico Capranica. He says that he was then so poor that he often had not money to get shaved. Capranica obtained him the post of secretary to two successive Popes, Callixtus III. and Pius II. To his friendship with the latter he owed his success, becoming Archp. of Pavia; Card. of S. Crisogono; Bp. of Tusculano and (in 1477) of Lucca; Legate of Umbria and Perugia, in which office he had, like Francesco Todeschini, to confront Sigismondo Malatesta of Rimini. Was given by Pius the financial management of his Crusade against the Turks, and accompanied (as did Card. Roderigo Borgia) the Pope to Ancona, where he admits that it was by his persuasion—owing to his own fear of the sea—that Pius abandoned his intention of sailing with the galleys. Pius is said to have died in the arms, certainly in the presence, of Ammanati at Ancona († 1464), and received his wishes

as to his burial in St. Peter's. On the accession of Paul II. he fell into disfavour, and, in comparative retirement, devoted himself to the completion, in seven books, of the commentaries of Pius II., which he brought up to 1469. He was, with Forteguerra, Eroli, and Roverella, held to be one of the probable successors to the Papacy at the Conclave which elected Sixtus IV. In 1479, in returning from Siena to Rome, at the Castello di San Lorenzo, near Bolsena, through the ignorance of a country doctor, he took an incautious dose of hellebore, and, going to sleep, never awoke. He was fifty-seven years old, and had been eighteen years a Cardinal. A man of great learning and cultivation, and a patron to men of letters, he is described by Gr. as a pleasure-loving Prelate, by C. as 'assai pio,' by another as 'of irritable temper but of a good heart.' He expressed the wish in his will that he might be buried at the foot of Pius II.

The tomb, attributed to the workshop of A. Bregno, is, by the author, assigned to that which produced the group of tombs discussed on pp. 112-118, and should be compared with Raffaele della Rovere (SS. Apostoli), Giovanni della Rovere (Popolo), Filippo de Levis (Sta. M. Maggiore), and Constantia Mater (S. Agostino cloister). Nothing remains of it but the bier and the recess. The tomb was probably of the type which has a bow-shaped upper portion. The altar-relief and ciborium above, by Mino da Fiesole (central portion only), probably formed no part of the tomb, but were from the chapel in which this and the neighbouring tomb of Constantia were originally placed.

(*b*) Constantia Mater († 1477), mother of Ammanati, of whom nothing further is known, except that Cardella speaks of the extreme poverty of Ammanati's parents at Lucca (or at Villa Basilica, near Pescia—C.). She doubtless shared the increased prosperity of her son.

The tomb may be coupled with that of Ammanati as coming from the workshop which produced the group of tombs discussed on pp. 112-118. The winged discs and supports of the bier (not a sarcophagus), the coffering of the niches, and the festoons of bead or pearl, should be compared in the instances given there.

The tabernacle above the tomb of Constantia probably came from the chapel in which the tombs once were, but is not from the same hand or workshop. It appears to be derived from some original now lost to us, in which Donatello's influence is remotely felt.

(*c*) Card. Gian Jacopo Sclafenati († 1497), a native of Milan ('either of noble or of low origin'—C.); went to Rome; became Papal Chamberlain to Sixtus IV.; Canon of St. Peter's; Bp. of Pavia (1482); and, at the age of thirty-three, Card. of Sta. Cecilia, but was changed to S. Stefano del Montecello (Rotondo). He was, says C., of active and industrious life, and of gentle nature, much beloved by the Curia. At the Conclave which elected Alexander VI. he was one of those who was won over by the Borgia, receiving as his reward the town of Nepi (Gr.), but according to L. P., Ripalta, a Cistercian abbey. He was forty-seven at his death, and had been fourteen years a Cardinal. His brother Filippo, Knight of Malta, erected the monument, of which little remains,

ΣΟΙ ΧΑΡΙΝ ΕΞΕΤΕΛΕΣΕ ΠΟΝΟΣ
ΚΑΙ ΑΘΕΣΦΑΤΟΣ ΙΑΡΜΟΣ
CHR SOT
OCTAVIANO FVRNARIO PATRITIO GENVEN PONTIFICI MARIANENSI
CAVSSIS FISCALIB IVDICANDIS VIRO PONTT MAXX ASVBPLICIB
LIBELLIS REFERENDIS BONARVM ARTIVM OMNIVM THENSAVRO
IN QVO ORNANDO VIRTVS ET FORTVNA GVM CERTARENT IMPORTVNA MORS
PAVPERES AVXILIO DOCTOS PATROCINIO BONOS MAGNA SPE PRIVAVIT
VIX AN XXXVI M IV D VNDEXX
FRATRES QVATTVOR INFELICISSIMI AMORIS AC PIETATIS ERGO
B M P

FIG. 54.—OCTAVIANO FURNARIO (S. AGOSTINO CLOISTER).

ΤΟΝ ΘΑΝΑΤΟΝ ΤΙ ΦΟΒΕΙΣΘΕ
ΤΟΝ ΗΣΥΧΙΗΣ ΓΕΝΕΤΗΡΑ
CHR SAL
IOIACOBO SCLAFENATO MEDIOLAN DIVI STEPHANI IN CELIO MR E PBRO
CARDINALI PARMEN OBINGENIVM FIDEM SOLERTIAM CETERASQ ANIMI
ET CORTORIS DOTES A XISTO IIII PONT MAX INTER PATRES RELATO AD
FORTVNIS VNDECVMQ ORNATO OVEIS PERPETVA MODESTIA INCOM
PARABILIQ INTEGRITATE GNARITER ANNOS XIIII FVNCTO
PHILIPPVS FQ ORD HIEROSOL FRATRI CONCORDIALISS
NATO IIII EIDVS SET M CCCCLI MORTVO VI EIDVS DECEMBR M IID
MOERENS B M POSVIT

Photo *Anderson.*

FIG. 55.—GIAN GIACOMO SCLAFENATO (S. AGOSTINO CLOISTER).

To face page 194.

and that badly injured. Workshop of A. Bregno. The sarcophagus agrees in type and design to that of Furnario close by. Both have the peculiar helmet-like ornament which occurs also on Card. Alanus (Sta. Prassede), Lebretto (Araceli), Gianbattista Savelli (Araceli) (see p. 90). Both have also the cherub's head below the label, whose details are in both cases the same. The inscription reads:

ΤΟΝ ΘΑΝΑΤΟΝ ΤΙ ΦΟΒΕΙΣΘΕ ΤΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΗΣΥΧΗΣ
ΓΕΝΕΤΗΡΑ.

(*d*) Bp. Olaviero Fornario. Of noble family of Genoa; fiscal assessor to Alexander VI.; died at the age of thirty-six. No year is recorded upon the tomb, whose evidences point to about the same date (1497) and workshop (A. Bregno) as that of Sclafenati (see above). The tomb, erected by his four surviving brothers, has the inscription:

ΣΟΙ ΧΑΡΙΝ ΕΞΕΤΕΛΕΣΣΕ ΠΟΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΘΕΣΠΑΤΟΣ
ΙΔΡΩΣ.

(*e*) Archdeacon Carlo Verardo († 1500), Papal secretary and poet; born at Cesena; wrote the Latin words for the pageant play of the fall of Granada, presented by Raffaele Riario (Card. S. Giorgio) in the spring of 1492.

The memorial is a tablet, with a relief of the Madonna, of no great importance, but modest and simple.

(*f*) *In the Sacristy Corridor.*—Bishop Bonaiuti († 1400). Removed here from the church.

(*g*) Card. Alessandro Oliva († 1463). Born of poor parents at Sassoferrato, in the province of Nocera. Ci. tells the extraordinary story that, as a child, in the village of Bucellino, he fell, while picking flowers, into a tank, and remained under water nine hours before he was rescued. The parents, deeming it miraculous, as well they might, resolved to devote him to the Church. He entered the Order of the Romitani. We hear of him as Governor of Umbria, Vicar-General of his Order, and finally, against his own will, General. He preached in Venice, Florence, Bologna, Naples, Siena, Mantua, Ferrara, and was a great force in his day. Pius II. made him Card. of Sta. Susanna and Bp. of Camerino. He was one of those Cardinals whose lives were fully worthy of their Order, and few men bore a higher reputation in Rome or were more justly beloved. He was one of those who were chosen to fetch the 'sacred lance' from Narni. He died at the age of fifty-three at Tivoli, and was buried in the church of his Order, S. Agostino.

The Cardinal lies in full robes upon his sarcophagus.

S. Alessio in Aventino.—1. Incised slab (*in front of the altar, right of choir*): Petrus de Sabello. Tesaraurus, 1288. The figure is in priestly robes, with a stole; the hands crossed; he wears a biretta. The Savelli arms on either side of the figure, at the level of the hips. There is a border of very coarse opus Alexandrinum, mere rude fragments set in cement. Gothic letter.

2. Relief slab (*behind the high-altar*): 'Reverendus in XPO. Luppus de Olmeto Naciōn Ispan. Generalis Ordinis Monachorum Heremitā Sc̄i Hieronomi.' 1433.

A high relief slab; figure in the robe and cowl of the Order, beneath a triple canopy with Gothic detail; heavy work, the folds ill-understood and meaningless; hands crossed; no coat of arms. The work is inferior, though the subject is interesting.

3. Relief slab (*on the last pier of left aisle*). Giuseppe Bripi, 1457. A slab much worn by traffic, when it was in the pavement. Much superior to the slab of Olmeto. The head has the shell canopy behind it.

Other Work in the Church—(*a*) *Outer Portal.*—Ornament of Cosmati mosaic.

(*b*) *Choir.*—Episcopal throne, Cosmati work.

(*c*) *Choir.*—Two small columns (surviving from nineteen) *signed* by Jacopo, son of Laurentius (see p. 24); this pair of masters did the ambones of Araceli.

S. Andrea della Valle.—(*a*) Pope Pius II., Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini († 1464) (*left side of N., above arches*), son of Sylvius Piccolomini of Siena and Vittoria Forteguerra. He was one of eighteen children. Born at Corsignano (now Pienza), near Siena, October 19, 1405, he studied law in Siena, and afterwards went to Florence, and sat at the feet of the humanists Filelfo and Poggio Bracciolini. His youth, by his own confession, was dissolute, and some of his early writings unworthy. He retracted these in later life. In 1431 he became private secretary to Card. Domenico Capranica, and went with him to the Council of Basle, not returning permanently to Italy for twenty-two years. He became secretary to the Bishop of Novara, and next to Card. Albergati, and travelled in the service of the latter through France,

England, and Scotland, attributing his ill-health in later life to his experience in the latter country. He had made a pilgrimage barefoot in winter to a Scottish shrine, in fulfilment of a vow made in rough weather at sea. At Basle he took service with Amadeus VIII. of Savoy, whom the Council elected Pope, with the name of Felix V. Thence he was chosen as secretary by the Emperor Frederick III., and in 1445, having been sent as Envoy to Rome, he went over to the side of Eugenius IV., and became his secretary. He had now been ordained deacon, and in 1447, in the first year of Nicolas V., he became Bp. of Trieste, and in the same year wrote his 'Epistola Recantationis.' In 1450 he became Bishop of his family town, Siena; and in 1455, under Callixtus III., having now returned permanently to Italy, became Card.-Priest of Sta. Sabina. In the Conclave of 1458, in spite of the more promising chances of Pietro Barbo and D'Estouteville, he was elected Pope, Rodrigo Borgia leading the way by 'acceding on his behalf.' He took the name of Pius, so it was thought, as a natural step forward from the Æneas of his youth. 'Rejicite Œneam, accipite Pium' was the text of a fresh *recantatio* after his election, from which moment his dream of rescuing Constantinople from the hands of the great Mahmoud II., who had conquered it in 1453, became the one absorbing vision of his life.[1] The letter is extant which he wrote to

[1] After his election to the Papacy, Pius II. caused the village of his birth, Corsignano, to be transformed into the little town of Pienza, after his Papal name, by adorning it with splendid buildings, some of which were due to Bernardo Rossellino.

FIG. 56.—JACOPO TEBALDI (MINERVA).

Photo *Anderson.*

FIG. 57.—ASTORGIO AGNENSE (MINERVA CLOISTER).

Photo *Moscioni.*

FIG. 58.—PIUS II. (S. ANDREA DELLA VALLE).

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the Sultan in the hope of converting him to Christianity. He had a sincere hatred of war, except in the form of this crusade; but being compelled to adopt strong measures against Sigismondo Malatesta, he entrusted his interests to Federigo di Montefeltro and Card. Niccolò Forteguerra, a relation of his mother, Vittoria Forteguerra. To the latter he also gave the command of the galleys built at Pisa for his crusade. It was in a last enthusiastic effort to throw life into this scheme, which seemed doomed to disaster, that he met his death. He travelled, a dying man—for fever was upon him—up the Tiber, in company with Carvajal, Rodrigo Borgia, Bessarion, and Ammanati, and by slow stages through Narni to Ancona, where the end came, 1479. He was, by his own wish, buried in St. Peter's, in the chapel of S. Andrea, the saint whom he had delighted to honour. His tomb, after lying in the crypt, was removed to S. Andrea della Valle, on the entrance wall, by Card. Perretti in 1617. It was afterwards transferred to its present position. The tomb is assigned by Vasari, in his Life of Filarète, to Pasquino da Montepulciano and Ciuffagni; but in his Life of Francesco di Simone Ferrucci, to Niccolò della Guardia and Pietro Paolo da Todi (see p. 123).

(*b*) *Right Side of Nave, opposite to Pius II.*—Pius III., Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini, son of Nanni Todeschini of Siena and Laudamia Piccolomini, sister of Pius II., was born at Sarteano, in Tuscany. Pius II. adopted Francesco into his family, and gave him the Piccolomini name and insignia. He studied at Perugia, and became, at the age of twenty, Bishop of Siena, where he did much

to mitigate the misery caused by the factions of the 'Monti.' He became also Bishop of Montalcino, and on March 5, 1460, was made, by his uncle, Card.-Deacon of S. Eustachio. He was Protector of the Camaldolesi, Card.-Vicar of Rome, Bishop of Fermo, Superintendent of Massa Trabaria, Abbot of Farfa, and Legate of the Marches, in which capacity he had to face no less formidable a foe than Sigismondo Malatesta, from whom, however, he won back Sassoferrato to the Papal dominions. After the death of his uncle, and until that of Sixtus IV., he was little seen in Rome, but betook himself to his diocese of Siena, where the Palazzo Todeschini Piccolomini, which he built, still survives to record his connection with the town. It was built by his father, Nanni Todeschini, from the design of a Tuscan architect.

He served, as his epitaph records, many legations with usefulness. Under Innocent VIII., at one of the most savage moments of the feud between the Baglioni and Oddi, he was sent to Perugia, and for a time seemed to have succeeded in restoring peace. Again, in his hour of despair in 1494, Alexander VI. sent him to Siena, in the vain hope of checking the advance of Charles VIII., who, with Giuliano della Rovere in his train, was threatening Rome; but Charles refused to receive him. He is described as a man of blameless life by Gr., who, however, elsewhere records a scandal which is repeated by recent writers, though it seems to rest on no sound evidence. It is certain that in the several Conclaves in which he took a part he remained uncorrupted; and in the election of Borgia, when his name was mentioned

with that of Ascanio Sforza, he, unlike the latter, refused all temptation. A few years later, in 1496, when Alexander made his son Gandia Duke of Benevento, Piccolomini alone of twenty-seven Cardinals had the courage to oppose him. At the death of Alexander, Piccolomini, a Cardinal of forty-three years' standing, now an old man and very feeble—so feeble that the procession to the Lateran had to be abandoned — was elected (Pius III.), and lived only for twenty-six days, dying on October 18, 1503. He had become wealthy, his income being recorded in the assessment for the crusade of 1498 at 9,000 ducats, and he spent much of his wealth in the encouragement of art and letters. The Piccolomini Library, with the frescoes by Pinturicchio, from the Life of Pius II., is due to him. The Piccolomini altar in the Duomo of Siena was a commission from him to Andrea Bregno in 1485. The further commission which he gave to Michelangelo, shortly before his death, for sixteen statues to be added to its niches, though paid for, was never completed, and, together with the tomb of Julius II., hung like a millstone round the great artist's neck to the end of his life. The group of the Three Graces in the Piccolomini Library was found in the Colonna Palace, and once belonged to Pius III.

The tomb in four tiers is by Francesco di Giovanni (* and V.) and Bastiano di Francesco Ferrucci (* and V.), both of them of the family of Fiesole which produced the sculptors Simone and Francesco di Simone. The work in four tiers, divided horizontally by cornices, though costly and elaborate, is ponderous, dull, and pretentious. It follows the type set by the older Piccolomini tomb with

less reticence, the endeavour to be grandiloquent resulting in poverty of expression. The tomb was removed from St. Peter's to S. Andrea della Valle in the year 1617, at the same time as that of Pius II., by Cardinal Peretti. In the Grotte Vaticane is a grave-slab, figured by Dionigi, representing the Pope in the days when he was a Bishop, in full episcopal robes. The inscription states that it was placed by Todeschini in his lifetime ('vivens . . . posuit capellamque hanc ornavit.') at the feet of the tomb of his uncle in the chapel which he had founded and endowed in the Basilica—*i.e.*, the chapel of S. Andrea destroyed at the rebuilding of St. Peter's.

STA. ANTONIO ABBATE (NEAR S. MARIA MAGGIORE)—*Outside Portal.*—Cosmatesque work in the lunette.

SS. APOSTOLI—(*a*) *Choir.*—Card. Pietro Riario († 1474), son of Paolo Riario of Savona and Bianca, sister of Francesco della Rovere (Sixtus IV.). At twelve years old he lost his father, to whom Sixtus had owed much. The latter educated Pietro at the 'Ordine Serafico' at Siena. He became, like his uncle Sixtus and cousin Giuliano della Rovere, a Franciscan 'Reader' of Philosophy at Venice. Having, the story goes, had a dream that Francesco would become Pope, he obtained his leave to go to Rome. At the Conclave which elected Sixtus, the latter had with him Pietro as 'Maestro di Camera,' who contributed to the success of his uncle by his great services on that occasion. He became Bp. of Treviso; Card. of San Sisto (1472); Archbp. of Florence; Bp. of Mende, Seville, Spalato, Dia, Sinigaglia; Patriarch of Aquileia, etc., with a revenue of 60,000 ducats. He

was also Protector of the Ordine dei Minori (Francescani); Legate to Perugia, Milan, Padua, Venice. He lived in great splendour in his palace at the Apostoli, keeping a retinue of 500 servants. He is said by C. to have spent 300,000 scudi on his table alone in his two years as a Cardinal. He died 1474 (see p. 104).

The tomb is by Andrea Bregno and Mino da Fiesole, of the year 1477 (fully treated at pp. 103-107). The latter is responsible for the relief of the Virgin,[1] and the saints in the niches at the side; also, in the opinion of the author, the upper portions of the supporting sphinxes, and the face of Riario himself, are probably from the chisel of Mino.

(*b*) *Crypt.*—Raffaello della Rovere († 1477), brother of Sixtus IV. and father of the three sons Giuliano della Rovere (Julius II.), († 1412), Bartolomeo, and Giovanni, City Prefect, by the first-named of whom the monument was erected. He played no part in the history of the time, and has left no record of his personality.

Of the tomb, once in the upper church, nothing remains but the recumbent figure on the bier, in a coffered recess, with attendant *putti* holding the Della Rovere arms, with its oak-tree, and a frieze below, carrying the idea through with oak-leaves and acorns. The figure should be compared with the Pietro Mellini (Popolo), and also with the Giovanni della Rovere (Popolo), and the two Ammanati tombs (S. Agostino cloister)—works apparently from the same workshop.[2] The original design was, no doubt,

[1] But A. Venturi now assigns this relief to Bregno (see 'L'Arte Italiana,' vol. vi., p. 951, note).

[2] See Chapter VII.

similar to that of the tomb of Giovanni della Rovere (Sta. Maria del Popolo).

(*c*) Giraud Ansedun, Knight of France († 1506) (*right choir, opposite Riario*), of the retinue of Charles VIII.; married the niece of Julius II.

The tomb, which bears the epitaph 'Flagrat inextinctum celo premit ossa sepulcrum,' has been attributed to Bregno, or another Lombard sculptor, but appears to the author to suggest a sculptor from the kingdom of Naples.

(*d*) Lorenzo Oddone Colonna († 1484) (*portico, near right entrance*), Head of the house of Colonna; executed in S. Angelo, by order of Sixtus IV., having taken part with Ferrante of Naples in his advance on Rome (see pp. 140-142).

The tomb, which is probably only a fragment of a large memorial, consists of a tablet having a portrait-head of the dead man in a medallion between two weeping *putti* with reversed torches. It is assigned to Luigi Capponi on the evidence of style (see p. 140), and should be compared with the Bonsi monument in S. Gregorio. It is the oldest surviving example in Rome of the method, already common in Lombardy, of showing a portrait-head in a medallion on the face of a tomb.

(*e*) *Portico.* — White marble lion, with inscription 'Bassallettus' (see p. 23), *under the ancient relief of an eagle with an oak wreath, right side of portico.*

(*f*) *Cloisters.* — Card. Bessarion († 1472), a Greek of good family in Trebizond; scholar of Gemisthos Plethon, the great humanist; a monk of Sta. Basilia, who accompanied the Emperor John VII. to the Council of

Ferrara, where the union of Eastern and Western Churches was discussed. He was made Bp. of Nicæa, and afterwards of Pampeluna and of Mazzara, and Archimandrite of Sicily. He took a strong line in favour of obedience on the part of the Greek Churches to the Pope. Nicholas V. made him Bp. of Sabina, and Legate to Ravenna and to Bologna. He did much to restore vigour to the University of the latter town, and greatly increased its efficiency and its fame. It was as Card.-Legate in Bologna that he rendered signal service to Nicholas V., by sending him warning of the departure of the exile Stefano Porcaro from the city. Porcaro was bound to present himself daily before the Cardinal. His absence for four days, on plea of illness, aroused suspicion. Bessarion's message reached Rome on January 5, 1453, the day before the Festival of the Epiphany, when Porcaro's blow was to have been struck by the seizure of the Pope and Cardinals. Paul II. employed him as Legate to Frederick III., and his friend Sixtus IV., in the first year of his Papacy, selected him as Envoy to Lewis XI. for the difficult task of endeavouring to heal the quarrel between that King and the Duke of Burgundy. The Embassy proved a total failure. Lewis XI. refused to take him seriously, treated him with contempt, and finally sent him a message that if he did not take his departure he would be thrust out of the kingdom. Bessarion returned, deeply mortified, to Ravenna, where he died a few months later. He was buried in the SS. Apostoli, the parish in which he had lived. Few humanists stood in higher repute than Bessarion. His love of learning was whole-hearted and disinterested, and

his writings were free from the taint of licentiousness which defaced the works of Poggio, Valla, and certain other humanists. His home in Rome was the resort at all times of men of learning, and he is said to have been a liberal helper in days of need, not only to men of letters, but to the poor of Rome. He was more than once a favourite candidate for the Papal chair, but his Greek origin was as great a bar to him with his brother Cardinals in that connection as it was a help to him in his career as a humanist with the world of his day.

The monument with the medallion-head of the great humanist was once in the Church of the SS. Apostoli. The medallion is of no value, either as portrait or as art, being of the date 1682. The plain sarcophagus acquires a dignity from its simplicity and from the magnificent lettering, Roman and Greek, of the inscription, on either side of which is a Cardinal's hat with Bessarion's device: two hands holding up a cross in a star-spangled heaven. Above, a Bishop's mitre, cross, and crosier. The tomb was once inside the church, but was cast out at a restoration. He had lived in the parish adjoining the church.

Sta. Balbina.—(*a*) Stefano dei Surdi († 1295), (*l. aisle*), chaplain to Pope Boniface VIII., of the Roman Ghibelline family of the Surdi, who had sided against Charles of Anjou with Conradin on his entry to Rome. The details of Stefano dei Surdi's life are unknown. A later member of the family, Petrus de Surdis († 1400), is buried in Sta. Cecilia. The tomb was once in St. Peter's. It originally, no doubt, was beneath a canopy, like those of Gonsalvo Rodriguez (Sta. M. Maggiore), Guglielmo Durante (Minerva), and

Matteo Acquasparta (Araceli), all from the hand of Giovanni, son of Cosmas, whose signature on the Surdi tomb reads '✠ Johs . Filius . Magri . Cosmati . Fecit . Hoc . Opus.' The tomb, restored, consists now of the sleeping figure (which is, on the whole, inferior to those which are quoted above, more formal and less flexible in its handling) upon a sarcophagus, over which the drapery hangs in six flat folds of unvarying pattern. Beneath is the base, whose face is richly adorned with Cosmatesque mosaic, enclosed within octagonal and hexagonal mouldings. The bearings of the Surdi family, in blue and white, are six times repeated. The plinth below has a fine band of stone mosaic.

(*b*) Episcopal throne (*choir*). Cosmatesque.

S. Bartolomeo in Isola — *Nave.* — Fragments of Cosmati pavement.

Sta. Bibiana[1] (near Porta San Lorenzo).— (*a*) Incised slab (*first chapel, left*). 'Mattheus Puccione de Peruso († 1420)——istius venerabilis monasteriæ.' It is difficult to supply the missing word, since the convent was for nuns. It cannot be 'Fundator,' since the date, 1420, is too late. Possibly the slab came here from another church or monastery. Arms: two bears. A sword on either side. He wears a turban berretta, a gown with wide sleeves. Crossed hands. He has a girdle at his waist. It is a burly, good-natured face. The slab is good, and interesting.

[1] There was once a convent of Dominican nuns, founded by Honorius III., attached to this church. The slabs, few in number and little known, are of great interest.

(*b*) Incised slab: 'Hic jacet mater onesta Maria de Urbe Morada.' A Sister in a coif (fourteenth century).

(*c*) Incised slab: 'Dna. Lucia abat. ipsa Monasterii († 1351).' An abbess of the monastery. She wears a coif, with a cap within like a widow's cap. Her hands are crossed. Broad sleeves. A very interesting slab, not of great artistic merit.

(*d*) Right wall: 'Venerabilis et religiosa domina Salvetti Bibiana de Salbectis Romana Abata hujus Monasterii (1330).' Arms: a chevron, with three conventional mountains. She wears a coif, with a twist or roll in front, in the manner of the period, such as may also be seen in Sta. Sabina. Her arms are folded. An interesting slab.

Sta. Cecilia in Trastevere (*nave*).—(*a*) Card. Adam Easton († 1498) (*E.W.*). The name is sometimes given as Eston or Aston, and he is also wrongly described as Adam Hertford, but correctly as Adam Anglus, he being an Englishman; of good family, according to Aubrey; of lowly birth, and from the county of Hertford, according to Godwin. He was a Benedictine, and was, according to C., a professor of theology at Oxford, and enjoyed a high reputation for piety and learning. The same authority says that he was made Bp. of London by Richard II.; others describe him as Bp. of Hertford. He was neither. He was merely Canon of Salisbury and Prebendary of Yetminster, which he exchanged for a living in Norfolk. He was made Card. of Sta. Cecilia in 1378 by Urban VI. With five other Cardinals, he strongly remonstrated with Urban VI., when the Pope,

after the murder of Queen Joanna I. († 1382) by Charles of Durazzo, espoused the cause of the latter, and marched with an army of mercenaries, commanded by the English Condottiere, John Hawkwood, into Neapolitan territory. Urban was presently informed of a plot, real or imaginary, on the part of the six Cardinals, whom he imprisoned in a dungeon at Nocera (see p. 45). It was also said that a letter in cipher from Easton to Charles had been intercepted. Easton alone, by the intercession of Richard II. of England, escaped the hideous fate of his comrades, but was deprived of the purple and of all his benefices. After the death of Urban VI. he returned to Rome, and was restored to the purple by Boniface IX. The story of Gobelino, that he was strangled and buried in a stable in Rome, is evidently a confusion with the fate of the four Cardinals at Genoa. He appears to have died peacefully in Rome in 1398.

The tomb, ascribed by some writers to Magister Paulus, is more probably the work of a Sienese sculptor. It was dismantled when Cardinal Sfondrati, in 1599, restored the church with disastrous effect. Nothing but the sarc. with its recumbent figure and its base remains. The royal arms of England—the three leopards and fleurs-de-lys—are upon the shields. The tomb is a few years later than the date of Easton's death. The inscription is the earliest instance of a return to the use of Roman characters, which had been for a century or two supplanted by Gothic. The latter is still found in use in 1430 in the tomb of Ardicino della Porta in the Grotte Vaticane.

(*b*) Card. Niccolò Forteguerra († 1473) (*E. W.*), native of

Pistoja, and related to Vittoria Forteguerra, mother of Pius II. A tried servant of four Popes. Under Eugenius IV. he was Governor of Viterbo, and of the patrimony of the Church. In 1459 made Bp. of Teano and Papal Treasurer. As Legate to Ferdinand of Naples, he obtained the restitution of Benevento[1] and Terracina to the Holy See, and arranged a marriage between Antonio Piccolomini, nephew of Pius II. and brother of Pius III., with Ferdinand's niece, who received Melfi and Celano as her dower. Pius II., in reward for his services, made him Card. of Sta. Cecilia. With Federigo of Urbino, he led the Papal troops against Sigismundo Malatesta, and was in command of the galleys prepared for the crusade of Pius II. against Mahmoud II. Paul II. employed him to root out the strongholds of the robber lords of the Campagna. He founded the Forteguerra *casa pia* at Pistoja, for the maintenance of twelve poor students, and the first *monte di pietà* in Italy. A man, by all accounts, of high and manly character and simple life. He died as Legate of Viterbo at that city in 1473, in the Papacy of Sixtus IV. He was present at the election of Paul II. and Sixtus IV., and it fell to him to place the Papal crown on the head of Paul II.

The tomb by Mino da Fiesole was dismantled, and its pieces scattered throughout the church. In 1891 the portions which had apparently belonged to it were col-

[1] In 1495 Alexander VI. detached this duchy from the Papal possessions, erecting upon it a family duchy, which he bestowed on his son, the Duke of Gandia, who was murdered in the following year (see 'Pius III.,' p. 199).

lected, and the tomb was brought to its present condition, which, however, leaves room for doubts. The portions which may be safely attributed to Mino da Fiesole are the sarc. with the figure of the warrior Cardinal and the relief of the Madonna. The black granite columns are ancient. The tomb is disfigured by regilding.

Slabs in the Portico.—(*a*) Incised slab: A rudely cut figure of a civilian in drooping turban berretta, with three candlesticks at his feet. Inferior work by a Roman stone-cutter. Gothic letter. Early fourteenth century or late thirteenth century.

(*b*) Incised slab 'Presbiter Petrus Bellus' (?) (a letter obliterated), † 1315, in the pontificate of John XXII. A very tall figure of a priest wearing a berretta of the same kind as De Fuscis de Berta in S. Pietro in Montorio. This figure is of indifferent workmanship and weak lines. Gothic letter.

(*c*) Incised slab: A soldier in full armour. Gothic letter. Fourteenth century. Figure much obliterated. Date wanting.

(*d*) Incised slab: 'Guidutus Fragaranis.' A civilian. Gothic letter. Fourteenth century. The figure is well expressed and interesting. Arms: a cross, with four lions.

(*e*) Incised slab: 'Johis Riccardi de Riccardinis de Transtiberim. 1368. The figure is that of a tall priest. On either side of the head the arms, a lion above a palm bearing six fruits. Gothic letter. White marble. Not a work of great merit.

(*f*) Deep relief slab: 'Petrus de Surdis Canonicus Basilicæ S. M. Majoris' († 1400). Roman letter. The

figure, of white marble, is much worn. It wears a curious head-dress, contrived by the designer to repeat and carry out the architecture of the cuspated canopy above the head. The arms on either side of the canopy: a shield with four bars wavy.

(*g*) Incised slab: 'Petro Francesco Gori filio alias Zampanti Pauli — na Mater et sibi Vivens posuit.' Slab of a civilian in a round berretta and robes. Arms: bar-sinister, with two circles. Fifteenth century. Roman letter. The figure, not of highest craft, is nevertheless refreshing from its characteristic attempt at portraiture.

(*h*) Incised slab: 'Qui giase Dona adorata a Daverzeli Hospitalera del Ospetale de Santa Cecilia. de S. L. Tebre.' † 1490. Fine Roman letters. The slab, of white marble, though not of high artistic worth or beauty, is most interesting, as presenting an exact picture of the costume of the office which the lady held. It is also one of the unusual instances of the use of Italian in inscriptions at this date.

(*i*) The tabernacle above the high-altar, by Arnolfo di Cambio (1294) (see pp. 25, 33).

(*j*) *Sacristy.*—Small relief of the Madonna. Mino da Fiesole. A very charming little work.

S. Cesareo (Via di Porta San Sebastiano).—High-altar. Screen. Ambo, altar, and episcopal chair of Cosmati work (amongst the most important works of this school in Rome). It is worthy of careful study.

S. Clemente (Upper Church).—(*a*) Bartolommeo Roverella († 1476) (*right side of choir*), born in Ferrara or Rovigo; learned in the law and in theology; began his ecclesiastical

career at Modena. He became chaplain to the Patriarch of Aquileia, and was made Bp. of Adria by Eugenius IV., but soon transferred to Ravenna. Under Nicolas V. he served with great success as Governor of the Marches and Ancona, and was also sent as Legate to England. He had previously acted as one of the secretaries to Eugenius IV. Pius II. appointed him his Nunzio to Sicily, for the purpose of arousing zeal for his Crusade, and the same Pope presently made him Card. of S. Clemente. After Ferdinand's victory, August 18, 1462, near Troia in Apulia, Roverella succeeded in detaching Gian Antonio Orsini, Prince of Taranto, from the Angevin cause, and reconciled him to the Pope; and he subsequently placed the crown on the head of Ferdinand of Aragon at Barletta —more useful, says Cardella, by this action against the Angevin Dynasty than all the armies and wealth of the Princes. He subsequently regained Viterbo for the Pope by force of arms. His services as Legate were equally successful. In 1468, as Legate to Ferrante of Naples from Pius II., he succeeded in inducing him to check the advance of his army at Sora. The same Pope sent him as Legate to Matthias Corvinus of Hungary, whom he reduced to terms by a threat of excommunication. As Legate of the Marches and Umbria, in 1471 he pronounced the blessing at the marriage of Leonora of Aragon and Ercole d'Este, for whom Card. Pietro Riario had already provided the preliminary entertainment (see p. 104). He was a man of action, of no small capacity, and seems to have lived a simple and strenuous life: described by Pius II. in his Commentaries as 'venerabile ed orna-

tissimo uomo.' He died in Rome in 1476 at the age of seventy.

The tomb is of interest in the history of fifteenth-century sculpture in Rome (see p. 106). It has been attributed by Steinmann, Burckhardt, and others, to Andrea da Milano (Bregno), working with Giovanni Dalmata. A. Venturi ('Arte Italiana') 'Scultura del Quattrocento' —assigns it to Giovanni Dalmata, working with Luigi Capponi. The author, admitting the difficulties which the tomb presents, accepts the first-named attribution: assigning the figure of the Virgin between two angels to Dalmata, working under the inspiration of Mino da Fiesole; the angels at the head and foot of the sarc. to the same sculptor; the sarcophagus, the sleeping figure of the Cardinal, the relief of St. Paul, and the relief with the kneeling figure of Roverella, to Bregno; the figure of the Almighty to Dalmata; the general design to Bregno. The arms: an eagle parted, with an oak-tree (Roverella).

(*b*) Giovanni Francesco Brusati († 1485) (*right side of choir*), nephew (sister's son) of Card. Roverella; a native of Verona; jurisconsult; Archbp. of Siena. Served many legations, and filled many offices under several Popes. He died at the age of forty-three.

The tomb is by Luigi Capponi* (see pp. 134, 135). The original contract exists (1485) by which Luigi and Giacomo da Pietra are to complete the tomb within eight months for a sum of sixty ducats. A very important tomb with reference to Luigi Capponi's work in Rome. It was erected by Florio Roverella. The tomb has points of resemblance, both in form and in style, to that of Nestore

Malvizzi († 1488) in the Popolo Church. The figure has much merit, and is flexibly and feelingly rendered. The tomb has suffered removal, and also suffers from lack of space. The upper portion of the bow has been restored. The arms: an eagle parted, and an oak (Roverella).

(*c*) Card. Jacopo Venerio, or Veniero, da Recanati († 1479) (*left aisle*), a man of talent and learning, and, says C., of intrepid character and independent speech where the interests of the Church were concerned, a fact which made him many enemies. Other writers speak of him as a lover of ease, and careless of such matters (L.P.). He was made Bp. of Syracuse by Pius II., and was afterwards Papal Nunzio to Spain, where he held the See of Leon, and apparently also of Cuenca. He became Card. of S. Vito e Modesto, but was transferred by Sixtus IV. to S. Clemente. He built himself a magnificent palace at Recanati, to which Giuliano da Majano added an inner loggia in the last years of Venerio's life. The palace and loggia still exist. According to Jacopo da Volterra, his contemporary, his wealth at his death amounted to 20,000 scudi, but Ci., who, however, lived 200 years later, puts it at 100,000 scudi.

The tomb, which appears to be later in date than the death of the Cardinal, is costly, ornate, and elaborate, and is difficult to bring into line with any of the chief workshops in Rome in 1479. While in its general type it resembles the productions of Bregno's *bottega* in its later day, it is of workmanship which is unworthy of that origin, and which suggests the hand of craftsmen from the East of Italy, such as may be seen in Ancona and the

towns of the neighbourhood. The two hall-columns, with capitals of interlacing work, are from the ciborium of the early church.

(*d*) Slab (*left of choir*) : Enrico Rampino di Allosio († 1450), born in the Diocese of Tortona (though some authors would have him a Scotsman). John XXIII. made him Bp. of Tortona in 1413 ; Eugenius IV., in 1446, created him Card. of S. Clemente and Legate of Lombardy, having previously made him Bp. of Pavia and Archbp. of Milan. C. calls him a true father of the poor, and describes how, in the hour of famine and pestilence, he stripped himself of his possessions to the very furniture of his house to feed the suffering Romans. He died, at the age of sixty, in 1750. The slab is of rude workmanship, which appears ruder from the rough quality of the stone. The slab seems to be a little later than the date of Rampiro's death. There is no border. The Cardinal lies at full length, beneath a shell canopy whose edges are rudely cut. Arms : an eagle with four fleurs-de-lys. Long epitaph in verse.

S. Cosimato (in the Trastevere, near Porta Portese.) —Cardinal Lorenzo Cibò (sometimes spelt Cybò) († 1504), nephew of Gianbattista Cibò (Innocent VIII.), on whose accession he became Canon of St. Peter's, Prefect of S. Angelo, and, in 1485, Archbp. of Benevento. He was made, in 1488 (C.), Card.-Priest of Sta. Susanna, Bp. of Vannes, and Abbot of Stafford, though he never visited either of the last two benefices. In 1492 the Sultan sent to Innocent VII. the spearhead reputed as that with which our Lord was wounded on the Cross. Card.

FIG. 59.—LORENZO CIBÒ (S. COSIMATO).

Photo *Anderson.*

FIG. 60.—S. GIOVANNI (LATERAN).

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Giuliano della Rovere (Julius II.) and Giorgio Costa met it at Narni, and it was brought to Rome in solemn procession. Lorenzo Cibò built for its reception the chapel for which Andrea Bregno prepared the Tabernacle of the Holy Lance in St. Peter's. He also gave the commission to Antonio Pollaiuolo for the tomb of his uncle, Innocent VIII., which was placed in the old Basilica (see p. 161). The later years of his life were embittered by the hatred of Alexander VI. He had opposed the latter's election. The story is told that, at the Conclave, when Borgia's success was proclaimed, Giuliano della Rovere whispered to his neighbour Cibò: 'We are all in the trap together.' Cibò, however, survived till the end of Alexander's reign, dying in Rome in 1503. L.P. describes him as a worldly and pleasure-loving man.

The tomb was originally in Sta. M. del Popolo, in the chapel which Cibò had caused to be frescoed by Pinturicchio. The chapel was, in the seventeenth century, 'restored' by a later Cibò, and the tomb was dismantled. A portion of it was, in 1685, removed to S. Cosimato—namely, the very fine relief, above the altar, of the Cardinal kneeling before the Virgin, with the surrounding frame and the statuettes of the Virtues at the sides. The sarcophagus is seventeenth century. Concerning the attribution of the original tomb to Michele Marini, see pp. 146, 147. The figures of the Virtues—as indeed the whole of the work—are well worth careful notice. The Charity is especially beautiful.

S. Cosimato Cloisters.—Grave-slab (now affixed to the wall): Generosa Franchetta della Rovere. Erected, the inscription says, by Sixtus IV., to his sister (who

married Bartolomeo Armoino). She was one of the four sisters of the Pope (according to L.P.'s pedigree-table, but Cr. omits both Franchetta and another sister, wife of Pietro Giuseppe, whose name is not recorded). L.P. places the death of Franchetta in 1485, on the evidence given by Villeneuve from the Vatican archives. It is a long narrow slab of very simple description, having the della Rovere arms, the oak-tree, on a shield beneath a cross. It is noticeable that the oak has not the shape in which it appears in the other monuments of the family.

S. Crisogono in Trastevere.—(*a*) Relief slab, in front of the Chapel of S. Angelo, of Card. Gulielmo Filastro († 1428). Native of Le Mans, of honourable birth, and of great ability. Translated Plato. Dean of Cathedral of Rheims, and Vicar-General to the Archbp. (1411), and Card.-Deacon of Sta. M. Nuova. At the congress of clergy in Paris he espoused the cause of Antipope Benedict XIII., opposing the King. In 1421 he became Archbp. of Aix. He was at the election of Martin V., and acted as Legate *a latere* to the Court of France. But having opposed the liberties of the Gallican Church before Charles VI., he presently had to return to Rome, where he built himself a palace beside S. Crisogono, in which, in 1428, he died at the age of eighty. The palace was afterwards destroyed by fire. The slab has been mutilated, the Cardinal's hat obliterated, possibly because of Filastro's adherence to the Antipope. The border round the slab remains, and a Gothic letter inscription. It was this Cardinal who proposed, at the Council of Constance, that all three Popes

should abdicate. He afterwards served as Legate sent to John XXIII.

(*b*) Fine pavement of opus Alexandrinum.

San Francesco a Ripa (Trastevere).—Incised slab (*on a pier, left of entrance*): Agnese, wife of Pietro Andrea Massimi († 1328). A very tall figure, wearing a simple turban-twist on the front of the hair. A long robe thrown back from her shoulders. Poor, simple work, not without the charm of sincerity.

In the Passage to the Sacristy.—Relief slab: Francesco, Count of Anguillara († 1473), brother of Deifobo the Condottiere, and son of the celebrated Eversus, Count of Anguillara († 1465). Eversus, the typical robber baron of the day, who owned Vico, Vetralla, Capranica, and many other strongholds in the Campagna, stretching from near Viterbo to beyond Monticelli, not far from Tivoli, was, for his many misdeeds and bad faith, attacked in 1465 by the Papal Captains, Card. Forteguerra, Giordano Orsini, and Federigo di Montefeltro. Many of his robber strongholds were stormed and wrecked, and he himself was compelled to submit, but was allowed to die in peace a year or two later.[1] The son Francesco, with his wife Lucrezia, was thrown into S. Angelo, where, under the charge of Bp. Roderigo Sanchez (see Sta. M. Monserrato), and for part of the time in company with Platina, he spent

[1] Eversus was buried in Sta. Maria Maggiore, but his grave is unknown; he had largely enriched that church. Ammanati describes him as one who neither knew nor feared God, and made pious foundations. The Torre Anguillara, opposite S. Crisogono, records his memory.

five years, ultimately dying in 1473. He was buried in the Franciscan habit, according to Gregorovius.

The figure, short and thick-set and bandy-legged, is presented in full plate-armour, with sword and dagger, the head without a helmet, the hands joined. The work is good, and the slab, little heeded by the sightseer, is of much interest among the tombs of Rome as a record of the days which bequeathed to the Campagna the ruined keeps with which it is strewn.

Relief Slab.—Pandolfo, Count of Anguillara (no date). Fourteenth century, of the same family. He is in civilian dress, and wears a long outer robe and knotted girdle. It is good work. The arms of the Anguillara—two eels—are on both tombs.

SS. Cosmo e Damiano (Foro Romano)—*Crypt.*—Pavement of stone mosaic. Cosmatesque.

Sta. Francesca Romana, or Sta. Maria Nuova (Foro Romano).—Card. Marino Vulcano, or Bulcano († 1394) (*vestibule, right*), a Neapolitan of Sta. M. Nuova, Card.-Deacon; probably Sub-deacon of Papal Chapel; Protonotary Apostolic. Acted as Nunzio from Urban VI. to Charles III., King of Sicily. Pontifical Treasurer and Chamberlain to Boniface IX., whom he had helped to elect. He died at Assisi, where the Papal Court was, at the time of his death, residing.

Tomb of some years later date (1412), of rude but expressive workmanship, containing early examples of the employment of the Virtues as guardians of the tomb. Inscription in Gothic character (see pp. 53-54).

(*b*) Antonio Rido († 1457) (*vestibule, left*), Castellan

of S. Angelo in the time of Eugenius IV. In the year 1440 he was employed to effect the arrest of Card. Gian Vitello Vitelleschi, at the Ponte S. Angelo (see p. 62). The monument was erected by Rido's son, and is the only surviving example of equestrian fifteenth-century statuary to be seen in Rome. If the tomb is carefully examined, it will be found that the pilasters and cornice which they support do not appear to belong to the relief, which is evidently cramped to fit it into its place. Probably the relief and inscription alone represent the original monument. It is to be noticed that Vasari speaks of a certain equestrian figure by Paolo Romano which had been in a chapel of St. Peter's, and which, in his day, remained as it had been since the rebuilding 'cast to the ground.' The writer suggests that in this relief of Antonio Rido we have the figure in question from the workshop or from the hand of Paolo Taccone.

Relief Slab.—Card. Francesco di Ferrei, called Aguzzone († 1412). He was a native of Urbino, and in 1380 was Bp. of Faenza, in 1384 of Benevento, and afterwards Archbp. of Bordeaux, and Nunzio Apostolico to Spain and Gascony. Later he went to Castille and Leon as bearer of the absolution sent to King Henry and Catherine from the Papal ban laid on them for marriage within the prohibited degrees. His work, it seems, was wisely done, and he was rewarded with the title of Card.-Priest of the Quattro SS. Coronati. He acted as Ambassador to France and to England, and faced much toil and disaster in endeavouring to persuade Gregory XII. to renounce the Pontificate. Whether Aguzzone was or was not

deprived of his benefices and his purple is argued at length in C. He lies at the foot of his master, Gregory XI. The Cardinal's figure is presented at full length, with a canopy around the head. The gloved hands are crossed. The lines are somewhat hard and angular. The face, of a Napoleonic type, is expressive. The vestment has on the breast the Cardinal's arms, which appear again on the slab : an armed hand holding a dagger.

Near the Great Entrance.—Nardo dei Venectini († 1430), a plain slab, with a relief of a bottle within a circle. Roman letter. This would seem to be that 'Nardus Speziarius,' whose name appears in the list of 'the Ten' Roman citizens to whom Innocent VII., in the first years of his struggle with the Roman people, granted the management of Roman municipal finance. The bottle is not a play upon his name, but an emblem of his profession as a druggist.

S. Giacomo degli Spagnuoli (Piazza Navona)—*Entrance Portal Pediment.* — Two angels supporting stemma, by Paolo Romano and Mino del Reame (see pp. 75 and 129).

S. Giorgio in Velabro.—Cosmatesque mosaics in the 'Confessio.'

(*a*) S. Giovanni dei Genovesi (Trastevere, near Sta. Cecilia).—Meria Duce Cicada († 1481), called by J. A. Symonds Miliardo; Fiscal Secretary to Sixtus IV.; founded the adjoining hospital for seamen and poor folk of the neighbourhood. When Filelfo was appointed by Sixtus IV. lecturer in *Litteris Humanioribus* (he had previously suggested to Nicolas V., without effect, that

he should be ordained, and should receive a bishopric), his salary was not always punctually paid by Meria, whereupon Filelfo wrote the foulest aspersions upon the secretary in a letter to Sixtus IV. which is extant.

The tomb is not of the highest quality among Roman tombs of its date. It is the work of an otherwise unknown sculptor, Magister Antonius, with his assistants, who also executed the ciborium for the holy oil assigned by some authorities to Luigi Capponi (*left aisle*). The latter, however, is of good workmanship. The arms of the tomb, an eagle crowned.

S. Giovanni in Laterano.—(*a*) Card. Clusiano, Conte di Casate († 1287) (*right aisle, beyond 4th chapel*), Card.-Priest of SS. Pietro e Marcellino; auditor of Holy Ruota (C.). He died of plague, or malaria, in Rome after the Conclave of Honorius IV. on the Aventine, and, according to Ci., his friend Jacopo Orsini erected a chapel and altar in his memory with provision for Masses, and is said to have written the inscription.

The portions of the tomb and fragments of Cosmati ornament which remain are survivals from the fires which destroyed the Basilica in 1308 and 1360. But it has been restored so severely as to be of little value as evidence. The inscription tablet has an edging of mosaic, and there is much Cosmati work in the Gothic panels of the front. The central panel has Christ with a kneeling figure (Casate), presented by an apostle or saint, beneath a rich canopy adorned with mosaic.

(*b*) Card. Bernardo Caracciolo († 1255), of the great Neapolitan family. He died in Rome, after eleven years in

the purple, having been created by Fieschi (Innocent IV.). C. comments on his absence from the Conclave in 1254, which, held in his native town of Naples, elected Alexander IV. The tomb, seriously restored, is of very rude workmanship, proceeding from a Roman *marmorarius* of the day. The face especially is childishly primitive. The folds are mere planes. It should be compared with the more skilful and feeling work of the Annibaldi monument († 1276) close by.

(*c*) Card. Riccardo Annibaldi († 1276) (*left aisle, behind the organ*). He belonged to the great Ghibelline family of the Annibaldi della Molara, but was himself of Guelf proclivities, remaining staunch to Charles of Anjou against the Hohenstaufens. He was one of the four Cardinals, who, on June 28, 1265, crowned Charles as King of Sicily in this basilica. When Charles landed at Ostia, the Cardinal, who had obtained possession of the fortress, made the landing safe, and a little later assisted in defeating the night attempt which Petrus de Vico (buried in Viterbo) made upon Rome, when Peter's son was drowned in the Tiber at the mills near the island. The Cardinal's life was full of picturesque episode. In 1265, as Cardinal of S. Angelo, he placed the crown on the head of Clement IV., having thus crowned both the men whom, the one by actual deed, the other by failure to protect, history holds responsible for the death of Conradin. In 1265 Clement had solemnly bestowed on Charles in the Lateran the banner of St. Peter, with the prospective kingdom of South Italy, save Benevento, and sent him on his way to the destruction of Manfred at the latter town.

A month or two later, in 1266, when Charles set forth, the Cardinals, headed by Annibaldi, blessed the troops at the Lateran, and then, with Charles, led the way as far as the aqueducts outside the Porta Maggiore, where they again gave their blessing and returned. But Annibaldi saw the expedition safe past his own fortress of Molara—not wholly, perhaps, from love of Anjou. He was at this time lord of strongholds whose towers stretched in a line from Molara, by Rocca di Papa and Monte Compatri, to the gates of Rome itself. Campagnano, Montefrenello, San Lorenzo, Castel Gerusalemme, Fusinano, and other lands, were also in his lordship. He is said to have died at the Council of Lyons, 1274, but the more probable date is 1276. The story that he died of mortification, Gregory X. having deprived him of his purple and all his honours, seems to have no foundation. He had been thirty-seven years a Cardinal, bridging over the whole period between Gregory IX. and Gregory X.—the reigns of seven Popes.

The tomb and inscription are modern, the figure on the sarc. alone original. It was close to the altar of S. Giovanni Evangelista, near the door leading to the Aula Concilii. It appears to have escaped the fires, but in 1651, at one of the restorations, it was taken to pieces and dispersed. A drawing in the Codice Barberini (4423) shows a nameless tomb, which is evidently this. Upon it is a relief of the obsequies of a Bishop, which can be recognized as the little marble now to be seen in the cloister, where also is a base with five cuspated arches filled with mosaic, which evidently was also a part of Annibaldi's tomb. There

is no document which speaks of the monument, but its style leaves no doubt that it is the work of Arnolfo. The tomb had no angels drawing back the curtain, like those of the same sculptor's Card. Braye († 1282) at Orvieto, but two columns stood at the head and foot of the sarcophagus. It is quite possible that Charles of Anjou, who summoned Arnolfo from Perugia in 1277, erected this monument to the friend and supporter to whom he owed so much.

(*d*) Card. Gerardo Bianchi († 1302), called Gerard of Parma, son of a poor peasant of Gainaco, near Parma. Educated himself, and went to Pavia as *pedante* to the sons of a citizen. Became Canon of Parma; Protonotary Apostolic; Card. of SS. Apostoli; Bp. of Sabina; Archpriest of Lateran; Legate to Naples, Spain, Aragon, Sicily. In 1282, after the Sicilian Vespers, when the people rose in their wrath against the rule of Charles of Anjou, and when his incapable son, afterwards Charles II., made his weak effort to recover Sicily, it was Gerardo who in vain tried to dissuade him from risking battle off Trapani with the fleet of Peter of Aragon, commanded by Ruggieri de Loria. Charles was hopelessly beaten, and taken prisoner. During his imprisonment Gerardo acted as his deputy in Sicily. Returning to Rome, he was employed in many Embassies. He built the monastery of S. Martino in Parma, and enriched the cathedral and other churches of the town, dying at last in Rome after twenty-four years in the purple, during which he had taken part in the election of five Popes. The tomb is the work of a Roman workshop of the day. It is a slab-tomb, which has been

removed from its position and placed on the front of a sarcophagus. The Bishop lies in his robes, at full length. There is a long inscription, now partly hidden by a confessional. The work, never of high quality, has, like many other monuments in this church, been so scraped and restored as to appear a thing of yesterday.

(*e*) Card. Pietro Valeriano Duraguerra da Piperno († 1302 or 1304), of noble birth (C.); Canon of Cambrai; Archdeacon of Brabant; Vice-Chancellor, S.R.C.; made Card.-Deacon of Sta. M. Nuova by Boniface VIII.; Archpriest of Lateran; Legate to Tuscany, Bologna, Milan, the Marches of Ancona, Ravenna, etc. A man of intrepid character, who died in Rome after eight years of the purple. Barbaccio says, in his book 'De Præstantia Cardinalium,' that he was suffocated by the Devil while stooping to see the body of Our Lord, represented in a Pietà displayed in a chapel in the Lateran—a medieval formula for an apoplectic fit.

The tomb—a restored Cippolino sarcophagus, with a flat face, having on it three large shields, bearing each a lion rampant in mosaic, with an inscription in Gothic letter—supports the figure of the Cardinal, who lies at full length in Bishop's robe and mitre. The tomb (incorrectly described by C.) was probably once canopied.

(*f*) Oddone Colonna, Martin V. († 1431) (*chapel near the 'Confessio'*), the only Pope of the great Roman family; born in Rome or at Genazzano; studied at Perugia; showed much ability, and had a great knowledge of law; Protonotary to Urban VI.; Nunzio to North Italy for Boniface IX.; auditor of the Ruota; nine times Legate.

Under Innocent VII. became Card.-Deacon of S. Giorgio in Velabro; Card.-Vicar of Rome; Archpriest of Lateran; Administrator of the Patrimony of St. Peter, Duchy of Spoleto, Perugia, Todi, Orvieto, Terni, Amelia. Apparently also Archbp. of Urbino.

At the Conclave held during the Council of Constance in the market-house of the town (1417) he was elected Pope as Martin V., when the Emperor Sigismund and Frederic of Brandenburg held his bridle in his coronation procession to the cathedral. The election marked an epoch in the history of the Papacy and of Europe. With his rule ended 'the Great Schism,' the Anti-Pope Muñoz (Benedict XIII.) retiring in 1429. His Papacy may be said to have ended—so far as it is possible to speak of end or beginning to a change so imperceptible—the period of the Middle Ages, and to have begun the Renascence period of Rome. He ruled the city with firmness and capacity, and during the fourteen years of his Papacy succeeded in bringing order and efficiency into the ruined finances of the Church. In pursuit of this end he lived in very simple style in the Vatican, and enforced the same simplicity upon his Court. He incurred, indeed, like Henry VII. of England when similarly engaged, the charge of extreme parsimony and of avarice. A more real and serious charge against him is that he lost few opportunities of enriching and advancing the members of his house. Before his death the Colonna owned a majority of the castles and strongholds of Latium. He espoused the cause of Joanna II. of Naples and her adopted heir, Louis of Anjou, against Alfonso of Aragon, employing

Sforza of Attendolo to lead his army against Braccio di Montone, who was besieging Aquila. Both Condottieri perished during the siege, Sforza being drowned in the Pescara, while Braccio[1] was slain under the walls of the town. The death of Braccio brought Umbria, Romagna, and the Marches into submission to the Pope. Many of the Cardinals appointed by Martin were men of high worth and capacity.

The monument is a bronze slab on which Martin is represented in his Papal robes. It is the work of Simone di Giovanni Ghini, who assisted Antonio Filaréte in the making of the great bronze doors of St. Peter's (see p. 64). According to Vasari, the purpose of Donatello's visit to Rome was to assist Simone in the casting of this slab. But Simone was an expert in casting, probably more capable in that respect than Donatello himself, and if the visit of the latter was connected with the work, it was probably with the actual design, which bears a strong appearance of being due to the great master. The monument is one of the most noteworthy among the Papal tombs in Rome. Its comparative simplicity and economy of means are expressive of the Pope whom it represents.

(*g*) Card. Antonio Martinez de Chiavez, called 'di Portogallo' († 1447) (*right aisle*); born in Castello Acque Flavie or in Porto; began ecclesiastical life in some position (not specified) in the cathedral of Lisbon; Dean of Evora; Bp. of Porto, 'but,' says C., 'not of Elvas.' In consequence of the ferocious war between John I. of Portugal

[1] The body of the latter was flung (says Poggio) outside the Porta San Lorenzo. The bones are now in the Cathedral of Perugia.

and John of Aragon, which was inflicting great misery on the country, Martin V. ordered a Synod to meet at Braga, in which Martinez played an important part. Peace resulted. He acted as Legate to John Palæologus ; was present at the Councils of Florence and Ferrara. He became Card. of S. Crisogono, Archpriest of Lateran. Martinez was lame. It is told of him that at the Conclave which elected Nicolas V. he came limping forth to the expectant people with the words: 'God has given you a Pope.' He died in that same year. He had founded S. Antonio dei Portuguesi as a hospital for the sick and for Portuguese pilgrims.

The tomb is said by Mellini to have been one of the most sumptuous and noble in the basilica before it was dismantled in 1650. The commission was given to Antonio Filaréte, to whom is due[1] only the beautiful sarcophagus, with its finely-lettered inscription. The figure is by another hand, apparently the same which wrought the figure of Eugenius IV. in S. Salvatore in Lauro. The Virtues are by other hands (see Lisetta Ciaccio 'L' Arte,' vol. ix.). Two of them, Fortitude and Justice, have been thought to correspond in style with two others, Prudence and Temperance, which, during one

[1] On this point there is much difference of opinion. Venturi ('L' Arte Italiana,' vol. vi., p. 376) holds that Filaréte left Rome without having set hand to the monument, which was taken over by Isaia da Pisa a year or two later. Lisetta Ciaccio ('L' Arte,' p. 175) accepts, as does the present author, the sarcophagus alone as the work of Filaréte. Lazzaroni and Muñoz hold that the sarcophagus had no connection with Filaréte, and that it is long after 1447—perhaps not earlier than 1460.

Photo *Alinari.*

FIG. 61.—LORENZO DI LUCA VALLA (LATERAN).

Photo *Moscioni.*

FIG. 62.—CALLIXTUS III. (GROTTE VATICANE).

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of the restorations, have got placed on the late sixteenth-century tomb of Card. Acquaviva († 1574) in the same aisle of this church.

Relief of St. James (*right aisle, over a window opening into Cappella Massimo*); part of an altar set up by Guglielmo de Pereriis. St. John Evangelist and St. John Baptist, two other figures from this altar, are in the cloister: important in the art of Luigi Capponi (see p. 137).

(*h*) Canon Lorenzo di Luca Valla († 1457) (*chapel to extreme right of choir*), humanist and poet; born at Piacenza. Displayed great animosity against the Church, and left Rome for Naples, where Alfonso made him, in spite of the looseness of his writings and his advocacy of immoral views ('Dialogue on Pleasure'), tutor to his children. His treatise on 'The Donation of Constantine,' written in 1441, contained a fierce attack on Eugenius IV. and his Vicar, Vitelleschi, which was strongly resented. Valla thought it safest to take refuge at Barcelona, but presently returned. He was afterwards summoned to appear before a Court of Inquisition, but Alfonso interfered on behalf of his secretary. In the first year of his Papacy, Nicolas V. summoned Valla to Rome, and made him Apostolic Scriptor. Callixtus III. made him Canon of the Lateran Basilica. Poggio quarrelled with Valla on a question of the classics, and overwhelmed him with invective of the filthiest description, to which Valla replied in less outrageous terms. Valla was also at deadly feud with George of Trebizond concerning the merits of Cicero and Quintilian, and no less than eight books of invective passed between Valla and Poggio on a question of the

Latinity in the writings of the former. The life, both in its learned uselessness, its encouragement of sensuality, and the honours with which it was rewarded, is typical of that of many of the less estimable of the humanists of the day. As a Canon of the Lateran, he was buried in the basilica. The inscription records that he died at the age of fifty-one, on August 1, 1457.

The tomb, once in another part of the church, is a sarcophagus with a fluted front, divided by three pilasters bearing lighted torches. The figure of the humanist is stretched above. It is somewhat flat and formal, and the work is rude and unexpressive. The figure is rather dead than sleeping. The head is held a little sideways. Valla wears a berretta and collar with slashing such as appears on the dress of the earlier Senators of Rome.

(*i*) *Baptistery* (*Oratory Chapel of S. Giovanni Evangelista*).—Relief of Pope Leo I., kneeling at the foot of St. John, by Luigi Capponi.

(*j*) *Cloister.*—Relief once part of the monument of Riccardo Annibaldi († 1276), in the church (*q.v.*).

(*k*) St. John Baptist and St. John Evangelist, part of the De Pereriis altar once in the church (see previous page).

Slab Tombs in Cloister once in the Church.—Many of these slabs, especially those of early date, have suffered, even more than those of most churches, from wear by feet, and from the disasters which have befallen the Lateran. A few only are selected :

(*l*) A very good slab of a Doctor of Laws, of which one side only has survived. Arms : a sun, three stars, a crescent, a mountain. The berretta and slashed collar are of the

pattern worn by Lorenzo Valla. The face has all the evidence of exact portrait.

(*m*) A relief slab: Joannes Rubeo (Rosso), Bishop of Alatri. Much defaced. A fine border round it. Fifteenth century.

(*n*) A relief slab of a Bishop, with shell-shaped canopy. Fifteenth century.

(*o*) Relief slab of a Bishop under a canopy. Gothic letter.

(*p*) Relief slab of a woman, her face worn to the appearance of a skeleton. Fifteenth century.

S. Gregorio Magno (in Monte Celio).—(*a*) Antonio Bonsi († 1498) and his younger brother, Michele Bonsi (*cortile, right side*). Members of a Florentine family, who had a palace in Rome, near the Trinità dei Monti, with other property in Rome. Antonio served Florence as Envoy and 'Orator.' Michele was a man of culture, who formed a fine collection of antiques.

The tomb (undated) is generally accepted as the work of Luigi Capponi of Milan, and deserves careful study on that account (see pp. 139, 140).

(*b*) Altar frontal (*chapel at the end of the right aisle*). A work of great beauty; reliefs from the life of St. Gregory by Luigi Capponi (see pp. 138, 139).

(*c*) Altar dossale (*Cappella Salviati, leading left out of the choir*). Restored and regilt. Andrea Bregno (?) (see p. 86).

S. Lorenzo in Damaso (adjoining Cancellaria Palace).—Card. Lodovico Mezzarota dell' Arena, called Scarampo († 1467), born in Padua of obscure parents (C.). Others say he was born in Treviso. Trained at Padua as a

physician. Learned the arts of war under Card. Vitelleschi, whom he supplanted, and probably had betrayed. Defeated Piccinino at Anghiari. Made Archbp. of Florence; Bp. of Bologna; Card.-Priest of S. Lorenzo in Damaso; Papal Chamberlain; Patriarch of Aquileia; commanded the Papal troops and armies on several occasions; Card.-Vicar of Rome for Eugenius IV. Deadly foe of Pietro Barbo (Paul II.). Died at sixty-five, after twenty-five years of purple, possessed of enormous wealth. One of the most terrible figures of the Renascence (see pp. 76-79). The original tomb, by Paolo Romano, was at once rifled and afterwards allowed to perish when Raffaele Riario rebuilt the church. In 1512 Henry, Bp. of Taranto, erected a new tomb, using the recumbent figure from the old one (see p. 79).

The figure, hard to see in the gloom of the chapel, except at midday, is somewhat stiff. The face, however, is of no small beauty. There is in it very little of the ferocity which we should expect in the terrible Cardinal. It is a strong face, full of character, but with none of the evil traits which the life itself suggests. It is not quite easy to reconcile this portrait of Scarampo, showing apparently prominent features, aquiline nose, well-cut brow and chin, with the medal attributed to Cristoforo di Geremia[1] of

[1] See Fabriczy, 'Italian Medals,' translated by Mrs. Gustavus Hamilton (Duckworth, 1904), Plate XXXII., 1. For the supposed portrait by Mantegna, see Berlin. Kaiser Friedrich Museum (Paul Schubring, p. 42). For the supposed portrait in Filaréte's bronze gate of St. Peter's, see A. Venturi, 'Scultura del Quattrocento,' p. 539. This relief more nearly approaches the medal than the tomb, but the attribution is far from convincing.

Mantua, who was once in the service of Scarampo. The features of this medal are low and flat, with a snub nose, a long upper lip, and a beetle brow, the whole combining to make up a sensual and slightly brutal type, which certainly is more in accordance with our preconceived notions of the Cardinal. On the strength of this medal a portrait at Berlin by Mantegna has been identified as Scarampo, and also a head upon Filaréte's bronze door of St. Peter's. The two latter, however, cannot be called in evidence, as they are merely argued from the medal. The medal has on it: 'L. Aquilegensium Patriarca Ecclesiam. restituit,' the 'L.' being accepted as Lodovico. On the reverse: 'Ecclesia restituta ex alto.' Even allowing for the difference between a sepulchral effigy probably modelled after death and the exact portraiture of a medal, it is not easy to explain why the one so little resembles the other.

S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura.—Card. Guglielmo Fieschi († 1256) (*E.W.*), of the Genoese house of the Counts of Lavagna; nephew of Sinibaldo Fieschi, Pope Innocent IV. (1243-1254). Card.-Deacon of S. Eustachio; Protector of the Order 'Servi di Maria,' and 'Romitani di S. Agostino'; Legate of Bologna, of the Patrimony, of Sicily. From the first he shared the fortunes of his uncle, both for better and for worse. When Frederic II., once a firm friend of Sinibaldo, heard of his elevation, he said: 'Then I have lost a good friend, since no Pope can remain a Ghibelline.' He forecast the future only too truly. Two years later, after Frederic had besieged Viterbo, Innocent resolved on flight, and, under disguise, escaped on horse-

back over the wild country which lay between Rome and Civita Vecchia. His nephew, the Cardinal, and Niccolò de Curbio alone kept pace with him. When the other five Cardinals reached the port a day or two later, and all had embarked for Genoa, there still lay before them days of anxiety, sea-sickness, and misery. The story is told that the rejoicing Cardinals at length stepped to land near Genoa, chanting the words of the Psalm, 'Our soul is escaped as a bird from the net of the fowler. The snare is broken, and we are escaped.' It was not to be the last peril of William Fieschi on behalf of his uncle. After the death of Frederic himself, followed speedily by that of his son, Conrad IV., William Fieschi was appointed Legate to deal with Manfred, who was now Regent for the infant Conradin, and he took command of the Papal army. His conduct in that capacity brought little honour to himself or to his uncle. When Manfred at length, believing that he was being duped, boldly broke off all negotiations, dismissed Fieschi from his presence with scorn, and suddenly disappeared to reappear at the head of an army in Apulia, the Cardinal played no better part as a leader than he had done as an Ambassador. Holding his head-quarters in the hill-city of Troja, on December 2, 1254, he saw his army, on the plains between that town and Foggia, scattered before the attack of Manfred, and himself, escaping by the passes of the Apennines, was the first to bring to Naples the news that the fragments of the army which were straggling behind him were all that was left of his command. It is not quite clear if Innocent IV. had lived to receive the news of the disaster of Foggia or

was already dead. He ended his life of trouble and intrigue on December 7, and his death, accompanied by the news of the defeat, caused panic among the assembled Cardinals. Here Fieschi showed himself in a more capable light. The staying of the flight of the Cardinals, and the holding of an immediate Conclave, which elected Alexander IV., was mainly due to Fieschi's courage and decision, and saved the situation. The remaining two years of his life produced no further incident. He seems to have lived quietly in Rome till the end came to him, after his twelve years of restless life in the purple. His thoughts had still been with his ancient home, and his memory survived in Lavagna through his foundation of a convent for nuns, and another for the Order of St. Francis. Amongst the men who sleep in Rome, there are few whose names recall such stirring days in history.

The tomb is one of the very few that have survived to us from the first three-quarters of the thirteenth century in Rome. It consists of an ancient sarcophagus, on the face of which is sculptured a Roman wedding. There is no sepulchral figure, nor does it seem probable that there ever was one. The whole is surmounted by a tabernacle, whose general style accords with that which covers the high-altar in this same basilica. The inscription on the inner wall of the tabernacle enumerates the offices of the Cardinal.

S. Lorenzo in Panisperna.—Incised slab (*in middle of the nave*): 'Hic jacet Dns Mattheus Filius Dni Oddonis De Colupna. Canonicus.' This is the grave of Matteo di Oddo di Colonna. Another brother lies in Araceli. The

slab is one of the best of the early fourteenth-century slabs in Rome. The lines, broad and free, are good and expressive, not technically skilful, but full of feeling. The hands are tolerably rendered. He holds in his left some article which has a chain, which passes round his wrist. Ornament is worked on the turned-down collar. The face is nearly worn away, but seems to have been that of a young man. The figure is cut short at the knee. The Gothic lettering of the inscription is of the very best that can be seen in Rome.

S. Marcello (in Corso).—Card. Giovanni Michiele († 1503) (*E.W.*), Venetian; nephew of Pietro Barbo, Paul II.; Card.-Deacon of Sta. Lucia in Septifolio. In 1471 became Bp. of Verona, where he entertained the Emperor Frederick III. in the Episcopal Palace, on his return from Italy to Germany. Transferred to Padua, 1485, where he was regarded as the friend of the poor and of men of letters. Innocent VIII. made him Patriarch of Constantinople, and trusted him with the care of the Papal army against Ferdinand of Aragon, when he succeeded in establishing peace. In the days of Alexander VI. he was accounted one of the richest of the Cardinals, his income in 1498 being assessed for the Crusade at 12,000 ducats. Cæsar Borgia accused him to his father of intriguing against them. He was thrown into S. Angelo, and died of a white powder, said to have been administered by a domestic, who, under Julius II., was arrested and executed. Michiele's wealth was at once seized and taken to the Vatican, where one who desired audience of Alexander found him engaged in counting the ducats, with bitter

complainings that they were far fewer than public report had made them. L.P. attributes the death of Michiele to Cæsar, rather than to Alexander himself.

The tomb of Michiele, which is in a dirty and neglected condition, is from a Roman workshop of the early years of the century, and consists of a sarcophagus, with the figure of the Cardinal supported by sphinxes. The space at either end is filled in with books, as in the Bocciaccio, De Levis, della Valle, and Scarampo tombs. The second sarcophagus of 1511 contains the body of Bp. Orso, once the friend of Michiele.

S. Marco (adjoining Palazzo di Venezia).—(*a*) Paolo Capranica († 1476) (*left aisle, on the rise of the steps*), brother of the Cardinals Domenico and Angelo Capranica (buried in the Minerva); Archbp. of Benevento and Bp. of Capranica. Much valued by Martin V. Angelo Capranica erected the tomb to the memory of his brother Paolo, and of his nephew Nicolas, son of his brother Antonius, Bp. of Formia.

The front is divided into three plain panels; the arms (three bay-trees linked by a cable attached to an anchor) at either end, with the inscription in the middle. The figure is apparently that of Paolo—a Bishop in full robes, the head surrounded by a scalloped hood. It has the appearance of a slab raised high, and is invisible from below. The cutting is very deep.

(*b*) Slab (*right side of the raised choir*): A Bishop unknown; the name of Angelo alone remains. Fifteenth century.

(*c*) *Passage leading to the Sacristy.*—Ciborium by Mino

da Fiesole and Giovanni Dalmata. The relief of the Father Eternal above and the central panel are by Mino; and the right-hand relief of Melchizedek is also his, though not universally accepted. The left-side relief is by Giovanni Dalmata, as well as the two angels above the reliefs. The ciborium, once in the church, was placed there by Pietro Barbo (Paul II.), but was removed and placed here, without respect for its original design.

Sta. Margherita (in the Piazza Lancelotti).—Lorenzo Gerusino († 1498), a civilian, who died at the age of thirty-eight, 'interfectus sine causa'—a phrase of whose exact import we have no record, though he perished at the most fatal period of the rule of Alexander VI. He was 'scutifer and ostiarius'—one of the guards of the portico—to that Pope. The inscription seems to hint that he lost his life by a treacherous attack from an enemy. His mother ('infelicissima') put up this monument to her murdered son.

The tomb has been moved hither from another church to preserve it. It is of no small beauty, especially when its comparatively late date is remembered; and it is a descendant of the type of tomb which gave us the Pietro Mellini, the Raffaello della Rovere, and others (see Chapter VII.). The hands are wrought with great delicacy, even to the veins. The tablet containing the inscription almost covers up the supports of the bier, which are of the fragile type which marks the above-named tombs, but without the familiar winged disc (see p. 115). There is a book behind the shields whose bearings are: a lion rising out of the sea on the left, and six fleurs-de-lys on the right.

STA. MARIA IN ARACELI.—(*a*) Tomb of the Savelli (*right transept, left side*). Under the tomb and pavement lies Luca Savelli the elder, who, with Beltrami Monaldeschi of Orvieto, succeeded Charles of Anjou in 1266 as Senator of Rome. Luca and his colleague at once demanded from Clement IV., on behalf of the merchants of Rome, payment of the moneys for which he had mortgaged lands of the Church. Clement replied by calling the Senators thieves and robbers, and the money was not paid. Luca died in the year of his office. He married Vanna (Giovanna) Aldobrandeschi, and was father of Honorius IV., John, Pandulf, and Mabilia, wife of Agapito Colonna. Pandulf, like his father Luca, was a supporter of Charles of Anjou. When Don Arrigo for a time was in possession of Rome, he caused the houses of John and Pandulf to be pulled down. In 1271 Charles of Anjou, being again Senator, ordered the houses and towers of the Savelli to be restored at the expense of the destroyers. Pandulf held office as Senator at the time of his brother's election as Pope—a man of strong will and great capacity, under whom the city enjoyed unusual security. He, like Honorius, was an actual cripple from gout, but in neither case was this infliction allowed to interfere with the activity of their life. The Senator outlived the Pope by nearly twenty years, dying in 1306.

(*b*) Giovanna (Vanna) Aldobrandeschi dei Conti di Santa Fiora, near Siena (*right transept, right side*), wife of Senator Luca Savelli the elder († 1266), and mother of Honorius IV., whose recumbent figure from his dismantled tomb in St. Peter's was brought here and placed above the

sarc. by order of Paul III. (1534). Papobroch says that the tomb was sculptured in 1488, but gives no indication of the source from which this date was arrived at by him. Nothing is known of the life of Vanna, nor of the date of her death, but if Papobroch is to be trusted, it would seem to have been in 1487, the year of her son's death. Jacopo Savelli (Honorius IV.), eldest son of Senator Luca, was created Card.-Deacon of Sta. M. in Cosmedin in 1261 by Urban IV. He served on many important legations with great common sense. Martin IV. made him executor of his will, and in 1285, at the Conclave of Perugia, he became Pope. He lived only two years more, being already in shattered health, and so badly crippled by gout that he could only move about on crutches or in a litter. But his energy and power of work remained with him to the last. As Cardinal, he had been at the Conclaves which elected seven successive Popes, from Clement IV. onwards, and he was one of the six Cardinals who, on the failure of the Conclave to agree, were deputed to elect a Pope—Gregory X. He placed the tiara on the heads of Nicolas III. and Martin IV. He is described as a man of singular probity and simplicity of life, and the Romans of his day, who were difficult to please, respected both him and his family. He built his palace on the Aventine, in furtherance of a favourite scheme for the repopulation of the deserted hill. But malaria defeated the project. At his death the Conclave was held in his palace, and six of the Cardinals having died, the remainder dispersed, save Nicolas IV., who remained at his post, and by keeping up fires and other precautions, was enabled to escape the fever. The scheme

of Honorius has remained unfulfilled up to the end of the nineteenth century.

Pandulf and John both fought on the Angevin side at the battle of Tagliacozzo, August 26, 1268, when Conradin of Hohenstaufen was defeated by Charles of Anjou. Their sister Mabilia married Agapito Colonna. The inscriptions make no mention of John, but Andrea, daughter of Pandulf, who died in the same year as her father, and apparently at the same time, is buried here; also Antonio, and Luca, son of John, who is recorded as Senator in 1303.[1] The upper portion of the tomb, with its beautiful ornament of Cosmati mosaic, rests upon an ancient sarcophagus, with piping satyrs and festoons of flowers, which probably held the body of Luca. The statuette of the Madonna in the niche, a beautiful little work, is, in the writer's opinion, from the hand of Arnolfo,[2] who may even have designed the whole of the upper part of the tomb. The inscription reads:

HIC JACET DN̄S PANDULFUS DE SABELLO ET DN̄A ĀDREA FILIA EJUS QUI OBIERUNT ANNO DN̄I MCCCVI. IN VIGIL BEATI L. (*Lower*) HIC JACET DN̄S LUCAS DE SABELLO PATER DN̄I PAPÆ HONORII DN̄I JOHIS ET DN̄I PANDULFI QI [QUI]

[1] The Savelli family owned Albano, Castel Savelli, Castel Gandolfo, Palombara, Cersano, and other fortresses in the Campagna. In Rome itself they owned a portion of the Aventine, near Sta. Sabina, where Honorius built his palace; also the quarter where the Cancelleria was afterwards built. Later, they became possessed of the Marmorata and of the Theatre of Marcellus, which they fortified; the latter remained in their family for several centuries.

[2] Vasari assigns the tomb to Agnolo and Agostino da Siena from the designs of Giotto, an impossible attribution.

OBIIT DUM ESSET SENATOR URBIS ANNO DN̄I MCCLXVI. CUJUS AĪA REQUIESCAT IN PACE. AMEN. (*Lower*) HIC JACET NOBILISSIMA DUCA MABILIA UXOR AGAPITI DE COLLUMPNA [DE COLONNA]. *On the left*, ANTONIO SABELLO in Gothic. *On the right*, LUCA SAVIELLO in Roman character, the latest of the inscriptions.[1]

These inscriptions were obviously added at intervals on the available spaces of the tomb-shrine. The earliest—that of Luca the Senator—could not have been placed there before 1285, since it speaks of Luca as father of Pope Honorius, who only obtained the title in that year. It is probable enough that the tomb was erected by Honorius as Pope (1285-1287), with his brothers, to the memory of their father; or the upper shrine may have then been placed upon the ancient sarcophagus in which Luca had been previously buried. The tomb was, in its complete state, no doubt crowned by a cuspated Gothic canopy, as we know to have been the case with the tomb opposite. The tomb was wrecked in 1727, when the transept was restored, leaving only the fragments as we now see them.

The tomb of Vanna was, as we learn from an engraving in Ci., originally surmounted by a Gothic canopy, having a trilobate cuspated arch (as in the Cosmati tombs of the period), resting on the capitals of the two antique marble columns which still remain. There were within the angles formed by the cusps three medallions. The canopy was destroyed, like that of its neighbour, in 1727.

[1] The pavement of the Savelli Chapel was destroyed in the nineteenth century, and the gravestones were taken up and dispersed.

The tomb of Honorius IV. in St. Peter's, from which the figure of the Pope was taken, was doubtless of the same general type. A fragment of drapery which still remains behind the pillow of the Pontiff suggests that there were angels at the head and foot. The arms, in mosaic, on the face of the sarcophagus are those of Vanna in the centre, and of the Savelli family on either side.

(*c*) Card. Matteo d' Acquasparta (in the Diocese of Todi—C.) († 1302). He joined the Order of St. Francis early in life, and earned a high name for his learning and the nobility of his character, becoming Protector of the Order of the Servi di Maria in 1291, and General of the Order of the Minori. He was Bishop of Portus, and Card.-Priest of S. Lorenzo in Damaso, 1287. Boniface VIII. sent him to reform the affairs of Cesena, Forli, Faenza, and Imola, on which occasion he passed sentence of deposition against Jacopo Pagano, Bp. of Arezzo, for misrule. He was an earnest admirer of learning, and was one of the first of the Cardinals to collect a library, which he left at his death to Todi. But that which gives him his place in man's memory is chiefly the fact that his life cuts the circle of Dante's. Acquasparta had taken a leading part in the division within the Order of St. Francis concerning the broader or the stricter interpretation of the Rules of the Order, favouring the former view against Ubertino da Casale, the champion of the latter. In the 'Paradiso' Dante makes Sta. Bonaventura speak scornfully of the strife of the sects. One who searched the pages of the Rule might find chapter and verse, but it will not come from Casale or Acquasparta, who come to the writing

in such sort that one flies from it while the other narrows it.

> 'Ma non fia da Casal nè d' Acquasparta
> Là onde vegnon tali alla scrittura
> Ch' uno la fugge e l' altro la coarta.'
> ('Paradiso,' XII., 120-126.)

In 1300, again, Acquasparta was sent by Boniface VIII. to Florence to compose the feud between the Donati ('Bianchi,' Ghibellines) and Cerchi ('Neri,' Guelfs). The Bianchi laughed him and his ruling to scorn, and Acquasparta placed Florence under interdict. Returning next year to Florence, the Cardinal this time met a similar reception from the Neri. Florence was again left under interdict. But in the same year (1301) Dante had come to Rome as Envoy of the 'Whites' from Florence, which he was never to see again.[1] After the failure of his mission, Acquasparta lived but one year in Rome, and was buried, as General of the Order, in Araceli, the chief church of the Franciscans.

The tomb has neither inscription nor date, but C. speaks of it as Acquasparta's, and the evidence of style leaves no doubt that it is from the hand of Giovanni, son of Cosmas. The recess, in which a fresco is now seen, was possibly once filled by mosaic.

(*d*) Carlo Crivelli († 1432), Archdeacon of Aquileia

[1] In the fresco by Giotto in the Bargello, Florence, which contains the portrait of Dante, Acquasparta is believed to be represented in the square-built figure, clad in a red robe, lined with white fur. The head-dress and part of the head are destroyed. Crowe and Cavalcaselle call him a Portuguese, but he doubtless took his name from the town of Acquasparta, between Todi and Terni.

(*E.W.*). Slab-tomb, signed by Donatello, once in the pavement of the church, as the condition of the work explains. It was made during Donatello's visit to Rome, which produced Simone Ghini's bronze of Martin V. in the Lateran and Donatello's own ciborium in the sacristy of St. Peter's.

(*e*) Card. Louis d'Albret (Lodovico Lebretto) († 1465) (*E.W.*); of the royal blood of France; said to have been in favour with Louis XI., at whose request he was made Card.-Priest of SS. Pietro e Marcellino (C.). Made Bp. of Aire by Nicolas V.; Bp. of Cahors by Pius II. He is also said to have been Bp. of Mirepoix, but his name is not found on the list of Bishops of that see. He was four years a Cardinal, and bore a high reputation for innocency of life, learning, and good works, to which he added an attractiveness of nature which earned him the name of the 'amor et deliciæ' of the Curia. C. records that in an age which had become none too particular of speech he was never heard to utter a *mot piquant*. He died at the age of forty-three.

The tomb, which may claim a high place amongst the works of its day in Rome for its good proportion and refined execution, has been generally assigned to Andrea Bregno, though the sensitive and sympathetic quality of its art, in contrast to the duller productions of Bregno's later workshop, have caused some writers to accept the attribution with reserve. But a comparison with the Card. Alanus of Sta. Prassede and with the Sclafenati and Fornario of S. Agostino cloister shows precisely the same formulæ of tablet and ornament (see p. 91) as in this, and

justifies the attribution. The St. Michael and the St. Francis, especially the former, have a freshness of conception and a refinement of handling which are often missing from the later work of Bregno, and which suggest that at this early time Bregno worked with a Tuscan influence as his inspiration (see also the altar in S. Gregorio).

The tomb follows the older type of three parallel cornices dividing it into three tiers, as in the Eugenius IV. (S. Salvatore), Tebaldi (Minerva), Astorgio Aginense (Minerva cloister), etc. It has plain, fluted pilasters, and the capitals have, instead of the acanthus-leaf, a pair of dolphins, a device which recurs frequently in later works of the century, both in Bregno's and other workshops. The fleur-de-lis, in token of d'Albret's royal descent, is worked upon the architrave.

(*f*) Catherine, Queen of Bosnia († 1478) (*slab affixed to pier, above the Gospel ambo*). Some years after the fall of Constantinople she had found it impossible to make headway against the advance of the victorious Mahmoud II., and at length, in 1466, abandoned her kingdom and fled, almost penniless, to Rome. She received a small pension from the Vatican till the day of her death, October 25, 1478, when she left her possessions to Sixtus IV., who was, naturally, unable to occupy them.

The slab represents the Queen at full length, her arms folded. A long girdle droops from her waist. The face and the dress are much worn away, owing to the slab having once been in the adjoining pavement. But, so far as can be judged from its present condition, it was never a work of the highest quality. The effect, however, is

much injured, and undue length given to the stone by the addition of the border, which belongs to a much later period.

(*g*) Filippo della Valle († 1494) (*5th chapel, left*), physician to Innocent VIII.

The tomb was placed here by his brothers, one of whom was Bishop of Crotona from 1495 to 1497, a fact which fixes the date of this tomb as subsequent to 1495. It has been attributed to Michele Marini, on which point see p. 145.

(*h*) Card. Gianbattista Savelli († 1498) (*left side of choir*), of the great Savelli family; Protonotary Apostolic; Legate to Perugia, Ravenna, the March of Ancona, Genoa, etc. He was designated for the purple by Paul II., but had not been invested at the Pope's death. Sixtus IV. made him Cardinal of SS. Vito e Modesto, and Archpriest of Sta. M. Maggiore. He was a man of keen and active spirit of great capacity and power of command, but he failed to keep his hands clean from the intrigues of the time. Under Sixtus IV. he was, in 1482, imprisoned with Cardinal Colonna for eighteen months in S. Angelo on suspicion of a treacherous correspondence with Alfonso of Naples. At the election of Alexander VI. he was one of those who sold his vote to the Borgia, receiving, it is said, as his reward the town of Cività Castellana and the bishopric of Majorca. He rode with Colonna, behind Giuliano della Rovere and Ascanio, beside Charles VIII. in that five hours' procession from the Popolo gate to the Palazzo Venezia. Like his three companions of that occasion, he failed to steer clear of the enmity of Cæsar

Borgia, and was again imprisoned in S. Angelo, from which he had the good fortune to escape alive, dying in Rome in the year 1498.

The tomb belongs to the workshop of Andrea Bregno in his latest years (he died in 1506). It was, however, prepared in the lifetime of the Cardinal. It reproduces a good many motives which had been employed in his earlier productions, the sarcophagus with its supporting sphinxes recalling that of the Pietro Riario, with less refinement. The relief of the Madonna and Child in the recess is now ascribed to Luigi Capponi, but, in the absence of document, the ascription on the evidence of style is not entirely convincing. The resemblance to the relief in the Bonsi monument (S. Gregorio) is at first sight considerable, but closer examination reveals differences of handling and of manner in the folds of the draperies, in the mouth and lips, and, above all, in the hand of the Madonna, which in the Savelli relief is inferior. The angels at the side also display a different craftsmanship, the handling of the wings—always a specially individual trait with sculptors—being markedly unlike that of the Bonsi relief. The writer, admitting a general resemblance, prefers to see in the Savelli relief the work of an assistant influenced by, or trained to, the manner of Capponi.

(*i*) Card. Pietro dei Vincenti († 1504) (*passage to side-door*), by A. Sansovino, practically a replica of the tomb of Ascanio Sforza in the Popolo; for, although the date of Sforza's death is 1506, it is most unlikely that Julius would have been content with a replica, whereas the converse

supposition is more probable. The actual work of the monument, moreover, is not equal to that of the Sforza tomb.

(*j*) Ambones for the reading of Epistle and Gospel (*right transept*), by Laurentius (first of the family to which the two Cosmati belonged; see table, p. 24) and his son Jacobus, signed on the Gospel ambo: LAURENTIUS CUM JACOPO FILIO SUO HUJUS OPERIS MAGISTER FUIT.

Gravestones still in the Pavement of the Church.—The gravestones of Araceli are still more numerous than those of any church in Rome, though large numbers have perished in the various restorations. Of those that remain, many are wholly or partly illegible. A portion only are here given, which, either for their interest as works of art, as evidence of costume, or as memorials of great names, or for other reasons, are worthy of record. The whole series is of unrivalled interest. In the sacristy is preserved a copy of 'Memoire Istoriche della Chiesa e Convento di Santa Maria in Araceli di Roma raccolte del P. F. Casimiro Romano dell Ordine dei Minori. Roma, 1736,' which gives the inscriptions, now often obliterated, as they stood at that date.[1]

1. Incised slab (*nave, under 5th column, left*): 'Magister Aldus Murator qui fuit fundator et principalis super opus hujus ecclesiæ. Cujus anima requiescat in pace.' Ammen. No date. Gothic letter. Nothing left of the figure but the legs. Of extreme interest, as marking the resting-place of the first *muratore*, 'master-mason,' Maestro Aldo of the

[1] I have supplied here and there a word, no longer legible, from Casimiro's book.

church. Since Araceli passed into the hands of the Franciscans in 1250, and was reconstructed by them, this slab must be placed in the last half of the thirteenth century. It is possibly the earliest in the church.

2. Incised slab (*between columns* 3 *and* 4, *left*): Portion only of inscription in Gothic remains: 'us ortolanus de Majori qui obiit anno dni millesimo . . . tempore Dni Johs P.P. XXI.' This fixes the date as 1276, the earliest dated surviving slab in the church. The slab marks the grave of the convent gardener.

3. Incised slab (*left side*): 'Doctor egregius decretorum Dni Stephani de Singano Pricial,' who died at the Council of Bologna, 1298. Gothic letter.

4. Incised slab (*in front of Lebretto tomb*): 'Dominus . . . Palmeri Psbiter Montis Gentilis qui obiit' (date gone, but stated as 1300 in P. F. C.). This figure of a priest was once of no small beauty of line, but is badly worn. Gothic letter.

5. Incised slab (*left aisle*): 'Reverendus . . . ter frater Mattias de Sacto . . . ter.' The figure of a Franciscan priest, who died in 1300. It is poor, tentative work, but interesting; the lines feebly drawn. Gothic letter.

6. Incised slab (*right side of aisle, near entrance door*): 'Ici gist feu Jehans Vaillant de Saci en la diocese de Mians Borrionis qui trespassa l'an del incarnation MCCC . . . du mois de Novembr. Prie pour l'alme deli.' The only French inscription (Gothic letter) of its date (1300) in Rome. Quoted merely for this reason. Only one fold of his dress now survives.

7. Incised slab: 'Johanna uxor Luce Gisi speciarii.'

The figure of this wife of the chemist, who died in 1300, has almost disappeared. Gothic letter.

8. Incised slab (*right of great portal*): 'Petrus Alli de Allis.' Died 1310. Gothic letter. This slab is well preserved. Pietro is represented in civilian costume. His arms (three blue stars under the letters S.S.S.) are on the slab. They are interpreted by Magalotti as 'servavi sacrum senatum,' a most unlikely explanation. Casimiro quotes a curious description of Alli's death from the doubtful chronicle of Monaldeschi: 'Messere Pietro Allo chisto anno ebbo doi figli maschi a uno tempo e perche isso era Capo della Rione sua fu fatto uno granne sonare di ciaramelle et lo povero Messere Pietro stava con la freve e la pontura allo lietto che fra poco tempo se morio e fu sepellito ad Araceli'; and he describes him as 'homo dotto e dabene muto [multo] stimato allo Campituoglio.'

9. Incised slab (*left aisle*): 'Bartholomea Uxor quondam Maximi.' Fine Gothic letter. The figure of the lady is interesting. She wears the curious coil-like head-dress, concealing the hair, and dropping in two broad bands on either side of the head. Thirteenth century. This is not the earliest occasion on which the name of the Massimi family occurs on a Roman slab. The cloister of S. Alessio has an inscription of 1011.

10. Incised slab (*nave, right side*): 'EKEBERT CRECCIL MILES MARESCAL ILLUSTRIS RUDOLFI COMITIS PALATINI RENI DUCIS BABARIE.' One of the soldiers of Henry VII., who died in the street fighting near Ponte S. Angelo, on May 26, 1312 (see p. 37). The Gothic lettering

is of the finest description, as are all which belong to this most interesting group. There is no figure of Creccil, but his arms, with shield and helmet, are upon the slab.

11. Incised slab (*nave, near 4th column, right*): 'DNS EBERARDUS MILES DE ERLACH MAGISTER CAMERE ILLUSTRIS DNI RUDOLFI COMITIS PALATINI REGNI DUCIS BABARIE.' Fine Gothic letter. No figure, but a shield and helmet, whose bearings are obliterated by wear. This was another retainer of Rudolf, who died on behalf of Henry VII. in the street fighting on May 26, 1312, at the Ponte S. Angelo, or the barricade of the Campo dei Fiori.

12. Incised slab (*nave, between columns 6 and 7, right*): 'FRANCISCUS DE IMOLA NOTARIUS AULE ET SCRIPTOR CANCELLARIUS DNI HENRICI ROMANI IMPERATORIS QUI OBIIT ANO MCCCXII.' Fine Gothic letter. A civilian. His arms crossed on his breast. He lies at full length in Chancellor's robes, a Gothic canopy above his head. The lines are cut hesitatingly, the work of an unskilled *marmorarius*, but are not without expression. The face and hands are obliterated by wear.

13. Incised slab (*nave, left, near 5th column*): 'Petrus de Barciis Miles Magistri quondam hospicii Dni Johannis Comitis Forensis qui obiit anno Dni. MCCCXII. Die XIII. Junii' (Casimiro). Nothing legible is now left of this save the words 'Miles . . . Johannis Comitis Forensis . . . obiit . . . CCCXII.' The figure has been worn away, except two legs. But the slab is of interest as probably representing one more of the victims of the street fighting in 1312. The slab is not noticed by Gregorovius.

14. Incised slab (*middle of nave, right*): 'Petrus Andree Lutii de Callio Notarii Aule Scriptor Cancellarie Dn̄i Henrici Roman̄ imperatoris.' Very fine Gothic lettering, with an approach to Roman feeling. The head of the figure has vanished, but the general style, especially in the drawing of the hands and the lettering, are so like those of the Matteo di Oddo Colonna in S. Lorenzo in Panisperna as to suggest that both slabs are from one chisel. This is a good slab, in fair preservation. This was another of Henry's followers who died in the fighting in the summer of 1312—June 6.

15. Incised slab (*nave, opposite 6th column, right*). A Bishop of interesting and good work. In this case the inscription has entirely vanished. It is evidently early fourteenth century, and the author believes it to belong to the group of Henry's followers in 1312.

16. Incised slab (*beneath the Lebretto monument*): 'Matheus Scrinianus familiaris dn̄i Luce de Sabello qui obiit tēpore dn̄i Clementis Pape Quinti anno dn̄i MCCCXIII. in mense Febrarii cuius aīa requiescat in pace.' Gothic lettering. An interesting and very well-preserved slab, of primitive, almost rude, workmanship. Scriniano, in the service of the Senator Luca Savelli, wears a curious costume, which at first sight is singularly like that of a modern lady. He wears a turban berretta, an upper mantle, open at the throat, with broad sleeves, over a dress descending to the feet. The work is possibly by the hand which cut the lines of the Petrus Alli de Allis close by. Gothic character, bold, but irregular—the whole the work of a Roman *marmorarius* of no great

skill, but of honest intention. The hands are better than in the Petrus de Allis.

17. Incised slab (*nave, between 6th and 7th columns, left*): 'Nobilis mulier dn̄a Paula filia Johannis Rainoulfi Candulfi de Candulfis.' Fine Gothic letter. The figure much obliterated; the face gone; middle part survives. A coat of arms at the side of the head. 1360.

18. Incised slab (*nave, left side*): 'Nobilis et illustris vir Jon̄es de Frigia Panatibus.' Good Gothic letter. The inscription remains, but the figure of this member of the Frangipane family is almost obliterated. 1377.

19. Incised slab (*nave, in front of 6th column, left*): 'Sapiens vir dn̄s Fuscius de Zachariis' (here is a gap, where the column cuts into the slab) 'Romana Curia.' A very fine slab, well preserved, although the face has been worn away. It is a young figure, wearing the shoulder-cloak, with the lappeted ornament of a member of the Roman Curia. The lines of the figure simple and expressive. He wears gauntlets. The coat of arms in mosaic: a shield divided, an eagle and three half-chevrons. Gothic letter. 1403.

20. Relief slab (*left aisle, near last chapel*): 'Petrus del Lante Pisanus.' († 1403.) Gothic letter. A very interesting slab. Petrus was twice Senator of Rome. The long inscription in verse states that he was 'marescalchus summi pontificis almi.' He lies at full length, wearing the robes, the lappeted collar, and berretta of a Senator of Rome. A round, arched canopy is above his head, which rests upon two books, possibly in allusion to his being twice Senator. Large gauntlet gloves. The work is somewhat rude and clumsy.

21. High-relief slab (*left aisle, near the entrance*): A very fine figure of an ecclesiastic, much worn away; the inscription no longer legible. It is not much inferior to Donatello's Crivelli close by, and appears to have been inspired by it. The date is probably not much after the Crivelli (1432).[1]

STA. MARIA AVENTINA. See Priorato di Malta.

STA. MARIA IN COSMEDIN.—(*a*) Card. Alfanus († after 1123) (*tomb in the portico known as 'della bocca della verità'*). Alfanus was Chancellor to Pope Callixtus II. (Guido di Testardita), during whose Papacy the rebuilding of the church, which dated from the third century, commenced under Gelasius II., was completed by the care of the Cardinal. To him is due the fine Cosmati pavement bearing the inscription, ALFANUS FIERI TIBI FECIT VIRGO MARIA. During the short reign of Callixtus II., who gave evidence of strenuous character and large aims, other great works were undertaken in the city, such as the restoration of S. Giovanni in Laterano and other churches, the repair of the gates, walls, and aqueducts, all of them probably under the eye of Alfanus—'vir probus,' as his epitaph describes him.

The tomb, fitly placed in the portico of the church which he had done so much to adorn, is of great interest, though of simple style and modest dimensions. It is the earliest which has survived to us of the great series of medieval and Renascence tombs of Rome, showing the original type from which the later recessed tombs, with

[1] Other slabs of the fifteenth century are to be found in the church, most of them unrecognizable from the wear of feet.

their canopies, were slowly developed. The tomb of Alfanus is a simple recess above a sarcophagus, which is divided into three plain but well-proportioned panels. Above the recess, which once held a fresco—and perhaps, in the first instance, a mosaic—is a plain pediment, on the cornice of which is to be read the inscription.

There is no reason to think that there was ever a recumbent figure upon the sarcophagus.

(*b*) Paschal candlestick, ambones, episcopal throne—twelfth-century Cosmati work, of fine quality and of great interest.

(*c*) Ciborium, the gift of Cardinal Francesco Gaetani, nephew of Boniface VIII., signed DEODATUS ME FECIT—a work of the early years of the fourteenth century, and one of the last which can be assigned to a definite master before the passing away of the Cosmati school (see table, p. 24). The work appears to be founded on the type supplied by Arnolfo di Cambio in his tabernacles of S. Paolo F.M. and Sta. Cecilia.

STA. MARIA DELLA CONSOLAZIONE (NEAR FORO ROMANO)—*Great Portal of the Church towards the Street.* —Madonna relief, by Luigi Capponi.

Large Ward of Hospital.—Relief by Luigi Capponi.* Crucifixion and framework of the relief* *in the sacristy.*

STA. MARIA MAGGIORE.—(*a*) Card. Gonsalvo Roderico, or Rodriguez († 1299) (*right aisle, last chapel*), a Castilian of the noble family of Aguilar and Hinnojosa (C.); Bp. of Cuenca; Archbp. of Burgos, of Toledo; Bp. of Albano; made Card. at Rieti or in Rome, December 4, 1298. He died in the latter city, after one year in the purple.

Tomb by Giovanni, son of Cosmas; restored; much of the upper part renewed. Of great importance in the work of that artist (see p. 24). It should be compared with the Acquasparta (Araceli), Durante (Minerva), and Stefano Surdi (Sta. Balbina), all by Giovanni Cosmati. The flat cutting of the drapery of the bier is typical of the Cosmati tombs. The angels merely stand at the head and foot, within the rectangular recess, and do not, as in Arnolfo's tomb at Orvieto, draw away the curtain from above the sleeping figure. The figures are more formal and their draperies more stiff and conventional than with the Tuscan master. The mosaic decoration is of great interest. Inscribed: + HOC OP' FEC JOHES MAGRI COSME CIVIS ROMANUS.

(*b*) Card. Francesco Lando, or Landi († 1427) (*top of stairs, on left side of Scalone entrance from Piazza d' Esquilino*), of illustrious Venetian family; Doctor in both Laws (probably educated at Padua). In 1408 Gregory XII. made him Patriarch of Grado, in which character he attended the Councils of Pisa and Constance. Alexander V. made him, in 1409, Patriarch of Constantinople, and in 1411 Card.-Priest of Sta. Croce in Gerusalemme; and in 1420, under Martin V., he became Bp. of Sabina. He founded in Sta. Maria Maggiore, of which basilica he was Arch-Priest, a chapel in honour of the Virgin, and richly endowed it. He died in 1427, and was buried in Sta. Maria Maggiore, probably in the chapel which he had founded.

The sarcophagus, all that remains of the monument, is now to be seen on the great staircase leading to the Palace. Its date brings it near to that of Fonseca

(1424) and that of Ardicino della Porta (1432), both in the Grotte Vaticane. Probably the tomb of Lando resembled them in general design. It is to be noticed that the inscription here is in Roman, that of Fonseca being in Gothic character. The figure of the Cardinal, short and heavy, is in style not unlike those of the two Cardinals above mentioned, and is somewhat lifeless and uninteresting. The hands, heavily carved, are crossed upon the breast. The ornaments of sleeves, pillows, and robes are all deeply, though rudely, carved. The face is much wrinkled, and the flesh of the cheeks lies in leathery folds. It is the work of a Roman *marmorarius* not yet set free from his conventions, but aiming at reality.

(*c*) Bp. Filippo de Levis († 1475) and Bp. Eustachio de Levis († 1489) (*E.W., left aisle, high up*). Filippo de Levis, of the Barons of Quelù and Consan (C.), Bp. of Agde in Languedoc, Bp. of Auch in Gascony, and of Arles, became, as a result of his singular probity (C.), Cardinal of SS. Pietro e Marcellino, but died, after only twenty-four months of the purple, in 1475, at the age of forty. There is also in S. Giorgio in Velabro a tablet to his memory (C.).

Eustachio de Levis, younger brother of the above.

A double tomb, with two sarcophagi, of different dates, of which the older appears to belong to Bregno's workshop of its day, while the lower one, inserted after 1489, has affinities of type with the Bocciaccio († 1497) of Sta. M. della Pace cloister, the Della Valle († 1496) of Araceli, the Giovanni Michiele († 1503) of S. Marcello, and the later portions of Scarampo (tomb of 1514) of

S. Lorenzo in Damaso. This double De Levis monument, though not of the first order, is instructive as showing the change of type from 1475 to 1489. The former is a solid sarcophagus on which the dead reposes; the latter is a bier only (in front of which a label), resting on flimsy supports which end above in a rosette. The filling in of the space with books is a method employed in all the cases mentioned above. If the Eustachio de Levis († 1489) sarcophagus was made soon after the date of his death, it is the earliest surviving example in Rome of the use of this motive. Possibly, however, the work was done at a date nearer to that of the instances quoted. The Virtues, six in number, which flank the tomb, are certainly not from Bregno's hand, and may possibly belong to one of the many tombs which were dismantled and destroyed in the various remodellings of the church. In the upper four of these, which are the best, the drapery clings to the body, and follows the shaping and the hollows of the limbs. They are, however, difficult to see at their present height. The two which stand at the head and foot of the younger De Levis—one with a wheel and the other holding a flag—are apparently later than the others, and of inferior workmanship. Filippo's inscription, in fine lettering, is of the date of his death (1475). That of Eustachius is comparatively poor. Filippo's inscription was, no doubt, originally below his sarcophagus, and was placed above it when the tier containing the younger brother's effigy was added.

(*d*) Four reliefs of the founding of the Basilica Liberiana

(Sta. M. Maggiore), and a relief of the Madonna, signed 'Opus Mini' (*chapel behind the high-altar*). These reliefs now affixed to the walls, were formerly believed to have belonged to the altar of St. Jerome, erected by Card. D'Estouteville, from the hand of Mino da Fiesole. The latter, however, are now known to be in the Museo Industriale. The reliefs in this chapel are probably by Mino del Reame (see pp. 128-130).

Slabs on the Scalone.—1. A very large slab of a Bishop, much worn, and in parts obliterated. He lies beneath a canopy. Arms on either side of the head: chequers; very badly cut legend, some of the letters turned the wrong way, 'Mortis solis tributum'; fourteenth century.

2. Jacopo Mancini. A much worn white marble slab: 'Hoc Jacobi sita sunt Mancini membra umbra beata vale.' The slab was once beautiful.

3. Agapito Colonna († 1380). He began life as a soldier, then studied the sciences; became Archdeacon of Bologna. In 1363 Urban V. made him Bp. of Ascoli, and in 1369 of Brescia, and sent him as Nunzio to Charles IV. Another Pope, Gregory XI., employed him as a successful mediator between Henry of Castille and Ferdinand of Portugal, then at deadly feud. He became Bp. of Lisbon, where he did much to reform the manners of the clergy; and in 1378 we find him in Rome as Card. of Sta. Prisca, Legate of Romagna, Toscana, Piemonte, Genoa, Venice. Once more he proved a peacemaker between the two latter States, and he ended a useful life in 1380.

The slab retains only a portion of the inscription

(partly recut) and four shields in mosaic, with the Colonna arms. The inscription begins, 'Præclarus tenui requiescit Agapitus Urna.'

4. Slab of Thomas Ruganiti de Amelia († 1422), a Doctor of Laws and a Bishop. A canopy is carved above the head, which wears a mitre. The surface of the figure is very flat, and the lines are cut in deep, heavy grooves, producing an appearance of elementary relief, which, however, is due to the wear of the slab. Arms: diagonal chequers.

Sta. Maria sopra Minerva. — (*a*) Guglielmus Durandus[1] († 1296) (*right transept*), Bishop of Mende. A man of great learning and high reputation in his day; author of the 'Racionale Divinorum Officiorum,' which, sixty-three years after his death, was printed at Maintz by Fust and Peter Schoeffer. It has been claimed for this book that it was the first printed with movable types. The claim is untenable. It was the fourth or fifth so printed, and the third printed with a date.

The tomb (restored) is by Giovanni, son of Cosmas, whose signature it bears. It should be compared with Gonsalvo Rodriguez (Sta. M. Maggiore), with the design of which it is nearly identical, though the Durante tomb is somewhat the richer in colour. It is of very high merit. The angels, which are of great beauty, do not draw the curtain from the front, as with Arnolfo, but, standing at the head and foot, hold it forth from the square recess, the arms projecting beyond the tomb. Inscription: JOHS FILIUS MAGRI COSMATI FEC HOC OP.

[1] The name is also written Durante.

(*b*) Card. Latino Frangipane Malabranca († 1294) (*chapel, left of choir*) ; of noble Roman family ; nephew of Nicolas III. ; adopted into the Orsini family ; educated at the Sorbonne ; entered the Order of the Predicatori ; became Prior of Sta. Sabina in Rome, Inquisitor-General of Faith to Urban IV., Bp. of Ostia and Velletri. In the absence of the Pope, he, with Card. Jacopo Colonna, acted as Rector of Rome. Legate to Bologna and Florence. Sent to restore peace in Florence ; and to Genoa, Parma, and Lombardy at large for the repression of heresy and punishment of those who had maltreated inquisitors. It is said that the Popes Martin IV., Honorius IV. (Savelli), and Nicolas IV. held his advice in such esteem that they took no step without it. He greatly enriched his Priory of Sta. Sabina, and gave it a fine library ; laid the first stone of Sta. Maria Novella in Florence (Fra Sisto and Fra Ristoro, Dominicans, who were also architects of the Minerva). At the Conclave at Viterbo, in 1281, which elected Martin IV., he,[1] with Giordano Orsini and Matteo Rossi Orsini, was roughly handled and imprisoned by the mob, headed by Riccardo Annibaldi, Senator, who took them by violence from the episcopal palace. But by far the most picturesque incident in his life is that which connects him with the election of Celestine V., Pietro Murrone, the poor hermit of the Abruzzi. When, after many adjournments and twenty-seven months of delay, the Cardinals were unable to agree, Latino was impelled, on the report of the hermit's piety, suddenly to launch him on the Conclave at Perugia as a candidate for the

[1] So says C., but Gr. does not mention Malabranca.

Papacy. In their despair of coming to any other agreement, the Cardinals accepted him. Malabranca died a few months later, and was spared the knowledge of the unhappy fate of his candidate. Malabranca is one of those to whom the authorship of 'Dies Iræ' has been assigned. In 1630, when the Minerva sacristry was remodelled, Niccolo Ridolfo, General of the Order of the Dominicans, moved the bones of Latino and Matteo from the sacristy to their position in the chapel near the Risen Christ of Michelangelo.

(*c*) Card. Matteo Orsini († 1340 or 1341) (*chapel, left of choir*), nephew of Napoleone Orsini (buried at Assisi), Canon of S. Stefano in Francia (C.); took the Dominican habit, and read the Scriptures publicly in Rome, Florence, and Paris; elected Provincial of the Roman province, and Regulator of the Order; sent as Ambassador of the Roman people to the Pope (John XXII.) at Avignon, on the complaint of the latter that the Romans were favouring Lewis the Bavarian, who had been excommunicated as a heretic. The Pope presently made him Bp. of Girgenti, then of Siponto; Card. of SS. Giovanni e Paolo; Administrator of Palermo. Benedict XII. in 1338 made him Bp. of Sabina. He died in Avignon (1340 or 1341), after twelve or thirteen years in the purple, leaving his possessions to S. Domenico of Bologna. His bones were brought to Rome, and buried in the chapel which he had erected in honour of St. Catherine (not St. Catherine of Siena). They were moved thence to the sacristy, and again removed, with those of Latino, to their present position.

The tomb belongs to the period of Latino (1294), and not to that of Matteo (1340). The lower portion, however, with the three panels of heavy carving, belongs to Orsini's date, and did not form a part of the original tomb of Latino, which underwent many vicissitudes. The recumbent figure is that of Latino. It is seen with great difficulty, and should be visited in the very early morning, when it will be found that the figure is a piece of good and direct portraiture, achieved by very simple means. The style of the drapery on the original or upper sarcophagus is akin to that employed by the Cosmati, but it shows a peculiar use of the drill to give depth of shadow below the lower edges of the folds. The bearings on the lower sarcophagus are a cinquefoil flower and five bars, the Orsini bearings. Matteo Orsini's tomb was originally in the Chapel of St. Catherine, which he built. It was dismantled and transferred to the sacristy, with the fragments of Latino's tomb.

(*d*) Fra Giovanni Angelico da Fiesole († 1455) (*slab affixed to wall, left side*); born at Vicchio, near Mugello, 1387. His proper name would be Guido di Pietro, but entering the Dominican Order in 1407, he took the name of Giovanni. Began monastic life at the Convent of Fiesole, and when the Brothers were expelled by the Archbishop of Florence as adherents of Gregory XII., Giovanni followed their fortunes, taking refuge with them at Cortona. Here much of his early work was done. Before 1420 he was back in the Convent of Fiesole, and in 1436 was transferred to S. Marco of Florence, for ever associated with his work. It was here, no doubt, that he

became known to Eugenius IV., during the retirement of the latter to Florence (pp. 59, 60). Vasari tells the story that Nicolas V. offered the Archbishopric of Florence to Fra Giovanni, who declined on the ground of his unfitness, but recommended Fra Antonino. The offer, if it was made, could only have come from Eugenius, since S. Antonino became Archbishop in 1445, two years before the death of that Pope. It was probably by his influence also that in that same year Fra Giovanni went to Rome, where, in the last years of his life, he executed the frescoes of the life of St. Stephen and St. Laurence in the Vatican, which are perhaps the finest, though not the most attractive, of his works. During this time he enjoyed the friendship of Nicolas V. He died in his cell in the Monastery of the Minerva in 1455. The title of 'Beato' was afterwards awarded to him.

The slab, once in the pavement, represents the great painter at full length in robe and cowl. The hands are crossed, the face worn and wasted, the eyes, deep sunk in their sockets, closed in sleep. The work is simple and somewhat rude. It has been attributed to Isaia da Pisa, but it can hardly be said that the work is sufficiently individual to enable us to accept the attribution with confidence. This is one of the very few tombs which commemorate any great artist in Rome, but it no longer marks the actual site of his resting-place, which is unknown. The epitaph is thought to be by Nicolas V., who himself died a few weeks later.

(*e*) Card. Domenico Pantagati († 1458) (*chapel, right of choir of Sta. Caterina*), from Capranica, near Palestrina,

from which he derives his name. Of a very ancient Roman family (C.); studied canon law at Padua under Card. Giuliano Cesarini; became secretary to Martin V., Protonotary and Governor of Imola and Forli. His methods are said to have been conciliatory, but without weakness, as his dealing with the town of Bologna showed. Bp. of Fermo in 1423, and in the same year made Cardinal, with Henry Beaufort and Prospero Colonna, by Martin V., who, however, never proclaimed him. Eugenius IV. refused to ratify the appointment, the enemies of Capranica representing him as a friend of the Colonna, and in secret correspondence with Filippo Maria, Visconti of Milan. He was deprived of his offices, and wandered from Rome (C.). He appealed to the Council of Basle, who decided that he was lawfully a Cardinal. Eugenius at length relented, and made him Titular of Sta. Croce in Gerusalemme. He attended the Council of Ferrara, where he met Bessarion. In 1447, at the Conclave which elected Nicolas V., Domenico was so surprised that he himself counted the votes once more. Nicolas, who was even more surprised, did not resent it, but presently made him Governor of the Marches, Farfa, Massa, etc. During the Porcaro conspiracy Domenico, becoming aware of it, at once put himself at the head of an armed band, and went to Porcaro's house. The attack led to the flight of Porcaro and the break-up of the plot. Nicolas V. had such an opinion of him that he put him at the head of his army against Francesco Sforza. But the Cardinal proved 'poco-felice guerriero' (C.), and only escaped, wounded in the hand, by the aid of a disguise. He was more in his

Photo *Anderson.*

FIG. 63.—DOMENICO CAPRANICA (MINERVA).

Photo *Moscioni.*

FIG. 64.—MERIA CICADA (S. GIOVANNI DEI GENOVESI).

Photo *Anderson.*

FIG. 65.—DIOTISALVI NERONI (MINERVA).

To face page 268.

element in Rome, where his work and his life were of the best and most useful kind. He founded the Collegio Romano for the education of poor students, built the Palazzo Capranica,[1] still existing, and, while living the simplest of lives, was liberal and wise in the bestowal of his gifts. C. gives quaint details of his life—how he slept few hours in a palliasse bed, and went clad in wools; how his dinner was of one course if he ate alone, two if he invited a friend; how he ate dry bread of an evening, but was very fond of sugar. He spent more on his books than on his food, and more on other people than on either. A man of brave, simple, and independent character, he may be coupled with Carvajal and Cusa as amongst the most worthy of the Roman Cardinals.

(*f*) Card. Angelo Capranica (†1478) (*Cappella del Rosario, right of choir*), younger brother of Domenico; made Bp. of Siponto in 1438 by Eugenius IV., Bp. of Ascoli in 1447 by Nicolas V., in 1450 of Rieti; Governor of Foligno and Bologna. In 1462 made by Sixtus IV. Card. of Sta. Croce in Gerusalemme and Bp. of Fermo. A man of less force than his brother, but of honourable and gentle character, described as 'Angelo di nome e di fatti.' He had been eighteen years a Cardinal at his death.

The tomb contains the bodies of both brothers, but is of the date of the elder. The inscription was written by Angelo; only the sarcophagus remains. The double

[1] This palace is the oldest remaining domestic building of the true Renascence in Rome.

pilasters at the head differ from those at the foot, and both sets do not belong to the tomb. The figure of Domenico, in pose and handling of the folds, has affinity with that of Bp. Coca (*right aisle, 5th chapel*), but the tombs have no other resemblance. The face is simply modelled, quiet and dignified, and the figure has considerable merit, both from its reticence and from a certain sympathetic treatment of the marble of the folds. The sarcophagus itself is overcharged with ornament. The tomb appears to belong to Bregno's workshop. Arms: three poplars.

(*g*) Card. Jacopo Tebaldi da Collescipoli († 1466) (*left aisle, near entrance, high up*), son of a poor man of Collescipoli, in the Valley of the Nera, between Terni and Narni. The father sold oil in Rome; the son, by his own perseverance and strength of character, raising himself to the position of Governor of Spoleto and Perugia. His eminence as a jurist recommended him to Nicolas V., who made him Bp. of Montefeltro. His brother Simone was a physician of no less ability, much valued by Callixtus III., who presently made Jacopo Cardinal of Sta. Anastasia, and afterwards Archbp. of Naples. Tebaldi never entered into possession of Naples, ceding it to Oliviero Caraffa. Tebaldi, who was much esteemed in his day, was at the Conclaves which elected Pius II. and Paul II. He died after ten years of the purple; but the inscription which records the day of his death does not give his age.

The tomb, which is high up and badly seen, was made for a lower position, the recumbent figure being almost

invisible at its present angle to the eye. It has been assigned to Bregno and Dalmata, a view in which the writer is unable to coincide. Comparison with the Pius II. († 1464) (*S. Andrea della Valle*) and Astorgio Aginense († 1451) (*Minerva cloister*) shows a similar design of sarcophagus in all three cases—namely, a solid and massive receptacle modelled on the antique type of those in which the fifteenth-century Roman loved to be buried, with simple fluted supports. It is perfectly plain, having not even a label. The tomb is divided into three tiers by parallel courses. The recess in which the sarc. with the recumbent figure lies is, as in the Aginense and Piccolomini, without coffering, a fact which in itself distinguishes it from the customary treatment of a Bregno tomb. The general character of the monument is somewhat stern and severe with a reticent use of ornament, which gives it no small dignity. The one rich detail, whose value is greatly enhanced by the general simplicity of the tomb, is the acanthus moulding in low relief which runs across, below the middle cornice. The handling of this is so tender and sympathetic as to remove it from the ordinary type of work produced in Rome, and to suggest a Tuscan chisel. The recumbent figure—certainly not by Bregno—is, so far as can be seen, handled more flexibly and with less rigidity than belongs to the Roman workshops of the date. The writer sees in the Tebaldi tomb the evidence of Tuscan craftsmen of more plastic training, working to the severer tradition of Isaia da Pisa.

(*h*) Agapito Rustico dei Cenci, poet († 1482), and Paolo

Rustico, his brother, of the ancient Roman family to whom the palace of that name subsequently belonged, from which also sprang the ill-fated Beatrice dei Cenci. Agapito was a friend of Poggio Bracciolini, and was in repute in his day as a humanist, for his great knowledge of law, and for his poetry, none of which survives; Apostolic Secretary to Martin V., and, under Pius II., Bishop of Camerino. The tomb was erected by the sons of Paolo in 1482.

This is a square wall-tomb surmounted by a tympanum, and having a very deep recess. The figure lies on a quite plain bier, supported by two lion's claws. The recess has on either side pilasters with heavily carved ornament, and the architrave has a frieze of cherubs with honeysuckles. The folds of the drapery in which the figure of the Bishop is clad are quite unlike the Bregno type. The cutting is very flat, so that the edge of the drapery loses itself in the edge of the bier. There is also a peculiar cutting of the fold of the sleeve, which passes over the arm and goes to the bier.

(*i*) Cencio Rustico and Marcello Rustico. The first-named was Apostolic Secretary, the second was Chancellor Secretary, Scriptor Apostolicus, and 'Breviatore.' The tomb was put up by Antonio Rustico, to the memory of his father and his uncle, in 1488.

This tomb corresponds closely to that of Agapito and Paolo, opposite. The figure, presumably that of Cencio, lies on a sarcophagus. The folds of the civilian dress are very flat and simple. A pediment breaks the architrave above. Though the design of the two tombs is practically

identical, the handling of the figures is different, that of Agapito being less stiff than that of Cencio.

(*j*) Agostino Maffei (*no date*) (*left aisle, 3rd chapel*), Fiscal Secretary to Innocent VIII.; a man of learning and an encourager of the arts. He made a fine collection of antique sculpture.

(*k*) Benedetto Maffei († 1494) (*opposite the above*), brother of Agostino.

Concerning these tombs, assigned by some writers in whole or in part to Michele Marini (see p. 142), the figure of Agostino is of very high merit, carved with a vitality and sympathy which give it a special place above many of the productions of its date in Rome.

(*l*) Giovanni Alberini (*no date*) (*mortuary chapel, right aisle*). An ancient sarcophagus, with a relief of Hercules and the Nemean lion, surmounted by a recumbent figure of very rude workmanship. Probably of the last ten years of the fifteenth century.

(*m*) Bp. Johannes Didaci de Coca († 1477) (*6th chapel, left*), 'Vivens Sibi posuit.' A Spaniard; Archbishop of Calahorra.

The tomb is one of the best in the church, or in Rome itself, but it is by no means easy to assign it with confidence to any given master. The actual tomb is older by some years than the date of the death of Coca, but it is natural to suppose that where a tomb was erected by a man in his lifetime, the recumbent figure would not be completed before his death. No sarcophagus of this exact type is to be found elsewhere in Rome, the use of the running scroll on the severe but well-proportioned front giving it a

specially marked character. The pilasters are of great beauty, cut by a refined chisel, which, however, it is difficult to identify. The use of the double pilaster at the sides is found in the Lebretto tomb († 1465), Araceli, and in the Savelli († 1498), also of Araceli, but the feature is hardly distinctive enough in itself to establish relationship. The frieze above, with its heavily-massed festoons, is not by the hand which carved the delicate pilasters. It has upon it the fleur-de-lis. The Coca tomb is of good proportion, and it is notable also for the admirable use of colour. The fresco in the recess, attributed to Melozzo da Forli, has been so much injured by time and repainting as to offer no safe foothold for criticism.

In the wall of the chapel is affixed a grave-slab, also to the memory of Coca. It is in deep relief, bearing internal evidence as a portrait; but the work is somewhat clumsy and commonplace. It is well preserved. The face is that of a young man, but as Coca died at eighty, and as there is evidence of portraiture in this slab, it is possible that this also was made for Coca at an earlier period of his life.

(*n*) Diotisalvi Neroni († 1482) (*E.W.*), the Florentine patriot and opponent, with Luca Pitti, of Lorenzo dei Medici, in his attempt to obliterate the freedom of Florence. He had once enjoyed great favour both with Cosimo and Piero. Banished from his native city, he sought refuge in the colony of Florentines who lived in the quarter around the Minerva, and there, at the age of eighty-one, he died, after more than once

Photo *Alinari.*

FIG. 63.—GIOVANNI DE COCA (MINERVA).

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vainly approaching Lorenzo with a view to return. His portrait is thought to appear, with other Florentines, in the 'Calling of the Apostles' in the Sistine, in the figure next behind the Saviour, but it hardly corresponds to the bust by Mino in the possession of M. Dreyfus.

The design of the monument is good and original, and is so far superior to the execution as to suggest that the latter was the work of a less capable artist than the former. It may, indeed, have been carried out by a Tuscan carver in one of the workshops of Rome. One may feel pretty sure that if Mino had been available, he would have been called in to make the memorial of the banished Florentine who had so befriended him in earlier days. But Mino had left Rome, and did not return, and no Tuscan of equal ability was working in the city. The inscription has the words, which read pathetically on the tomb of the exile, 'Patriæ libertatem vehementer amavit. Demum inter fortunæ procellas summâ cum laude vixit.'

(*o*) Francesco Tornabuoni († 1480) (*low down, left wall, near left portal*), known as Cecco Tornabuoni, a young Florentine, nephew of Giovanni Tornabuoni, who gave to Mino da Fiesole the commission to carve this monument for the Church of the Minerva, then the church of the Florentine community in Rome. Probably in the year of Cecco's death Giovanni had commissioned Domenico Ghirlandaio to fresco his family chapel in the Minerva with subjects from the life of his patron-saint, St. John Baptist, and there can be little doubt that this tomb was placed in that chapel, from which it was cast out at a later

date. It was to Giovanni that Ghirlandaio's frescoes[1] in Sta. Maria Novella were owing, while Verrocchio made a tomb—whose whereabouts and fate are in dispute—for his wife Francesca. Francesco was, the inscription tells us, a favourite with Sixtus IV.

The tomb was the last work executed in Rome by Mino da Fiesole. It was evidently intended to be seen at a greater height than is now possible. It probably included features which have disappeared, nothing being now visible but the sarcophagus and figure, with the panels above. What remains, however, is of a quality which is very rare in Rome. Mino himself did nothing in the city which is so entirely typical of his refined and delicate chisel at his best. The sympathetic handling of the marble surfaces, the exquisite work lovingly employed upon the foliage of the sarcophagus, and the beautiful feeling shown in the treatment of the dead figure, place this little-observed tomb on a platform which few fifteenth-century tombs in Rome can claim to occupy. It is evident that the Florentine sculptor was in full sympathy with his opportunity when he worked on this memorial of his dead countryman. It is to be noticed that Mino's treatment of the sarcophagus is strongly reminiscent of his master, Desiderio da Settignano, in the tomb of Carlo Marsuppini in Sta. Croce. The writer has already suggested that the portrait of the beautiful boy, second to the left of Giovanni Tornabuoni in

[1] These frescoes were destroyed when the chapel passed into the hands of another family. The tomb was probably dismantled at the same period.

Ghirlandaio's fresco of the 'Calling of the First Apostles' in the Sistine Chapel, is that of young Francesco Tornabuoni.

(*p*) Benedetto Sopranzi († 1495), a Venetian patrician by birth; Archbishop of Nicosia; Apostolic Secretary to Innocent VIII. and Alexander VI. The tomb was erected by his brother Victor. It is in the same chapel, and opposite to the tomb of Coca.

This tomb follows the pattern, with very slight variation of detail, of those of Cristoforo della Rovere († 1477), of Giorgio Costa, and of Rocca Valentino († 1482), all in the Popolo Church; but Sopranzi's tomb is far inferior in workmanship, and a few changes of proportion have greatly injured it in that respect. The sarcophagus, with the figure of Benedetto, has been made much larger than in the other cases, and, filling up the recess, has a cumbrous appearance, and the setting back too far of the bow of the tympanum has a bad effect. The relief of the Virgin and Child between two saints is poor and uninspired work. The face of the recumbent figure is the best thing in the tomb. The work of the pilasters is somewhat heavy in the cutting. The tomb has an inscription: 'Vivite Mortales Curæ quot vivitis annis,' etc. It is a ponderous imitation of the fine tomb of Cristoforo della Rovere, perhaps carried out by Venetian or North Italian workmen in Rome for the Bregno *bottega*. The tomb has, however, by some authorities been assigned to Luigi Capponi.

Slab Tombs in the Pavement of Sta. Maria sopra Minerva. —Very few of the grave-slabs, once numerous, which

belonged to the original Dominican church of 1370 have survived. Nearly all have been destroyed in the drastic and disastrous restorations which have overtaken the building.

1. Incised slab (*floor of 1st chapel, right*): Johannes de Mellis, Miles († 1374). This is the oldest monument surviving in the church, and must have been placed here immediately after the remodelling under Gregory XI. It shows a young figure in a long mantle lined with ermine (represented by cuneiform cuts with a pointer). He wears a sword and dagger. His berretta and collar show the scallop pattern, which seems to belong to a Senator of Rome. The lines of the figure are expressive, but not technically strong. The shape of the figure under the cloak, especially the left arm, is well suggested. The slab is well deserving of notice.

2. High relief slab (*chapel to extreme left of choir*): Lelli Maddaleno, 'Insignis civis et famosi in urbe mercatoris' († 1390). This is one of the few tombs in Rome which commemorate a member of the burgher class. The 'famous merchant' just before his death had bought Castel Giubileo, the site of ancient Fidenæ (Gr.). The slab is therefore of great interest, though not of great artistic worth. Lelli must have lived his early life in the troubled days when the Popes were in Avignon, though the figures which record his age are now illegible. It is a burly, well-fed figure, clad in a short merchant's tunic; large sleeves; arms folded; latchet shoes; a short, round berretta, with drooping sash; a coat of arms (six bends) on either side of the head. The face is worn by the tread of feet. Good Gothic letters.

3. High relief slab (*close by Lelli Maddaleno*): Paolo Gogio Capuo (Capo) di Ferro († 1393), citizen of Rome, probably another burgher. His costume is as that of Lelli Maddaleno—a blouse-like habit, buttoned a little down from the collar, the under garment showing at the wrist; latchet shoes; a ring on the third finger of right hand. Good Gothic letters.

4. High relief slab (*chapel, extreme left of high-altar*): Valeriano Phragapanio (Frangipane), late fifteenth century. The inscription, in Roman letters, states that he held all honourable offices ('omnibus honoribus functo') in Rome. He wears a low berretta, a long cloak over a short tunic, a purse at the girdle. The work, which is in very high relief, projecting above the level of the pavement (a practice which was afterwards forbidden by an order of Paul IV.), is worn by traffic. It is not of high order, but there is much character in the face. Arms: a bull.

5. High relief slab (*next to Valeriano*). Baptista Phrigiapanio (Frangipane, with altered spelling) († 1501). Placed here by his wife Faustina and nephew Jacopus, according to the inscription in Roman character. There is a good border of honeysuckle, and the slab is of much better quality than the Valeriano. The relief is again above the level of the pavement. The portrait is free and expressive. He wears a low berretta, with flaps (of the pattern worn by the man in the National Gallery, London, by Ridolfo Ghirlandaio); a very good example of a slab-tomb at the extreme end of the period; a long cloak over short tunic, with girdle and purse; a shield on either side of the head—left, two trees over five bands; right, five bars.

6. High relief slab (*2nd chapel, to right of high-altar*): 'Nobili et longevo viro Alterio [Altieri] de Corraducenis.' A civilian in large turban berretta and long cloak; rudely carved in deep relief; hands very primitive; face ill made out. This is a work—looking back from its date to older days—of a belated Roman *marmorarius*. Roman letters. Arms of the Altieri (as seen upon Palazzo Altieri): six stars. Placed here by his son Lorenzo.

7. High relief slab (*next to the above*): Angelo Alterio (Altieri), Bishop of Sutri and Nepi, who died aged ninety. The slab placed here by his nephews Jeronimo and Giovanni. This is a very fine slab, one of the best and best-preserved of its period in Rome (after 1432). The nose is lost, but the face—that of an old, strong, stern man—is very finely rendered and expressive. The work is everywhere of a high character. The figure rests beneath a shell-shaped canopy, as in the Crivelli of Donatello and other slabs of the date. Arms of the Altieri: six stars.

Cloisters (*now Ministero dell' Istruzione Pubblica*).—(*a*) Archbp. Astorgio Aginense († 1451) (*right-hand corner*), a Neapolitan, known as Spatinfaccia. He served many offices under Gregory XXIII., Martin V., Eugenius IV., Nicolas V., and by the latter was appointed Legate of the March of Ancona, Spoleto, Bologna, and the Patrimony. In 1411 he was made, by Gregory XXIII., Bishop of Mileto; in 1418, by Martin V., Bishop of Ravello; in the same year, of Melfi; and in 1422, of Ancona. He took a leading part in the suppression of the sect of the Fraticelli, destroying the town Castello

di Majolati, which had joined itself to them. Under Eugenius IV. he became Archbp. of Benevento, and C. records that he journeyed to Assisi in company with that Pope, and there 'had the fortune to behold the body of S. Francis.' After the death of Eugenius he became Governor or Prefect of Rome, and took his share, with Domenico Capranica, in suppressing the rebellion of Stefano Porcaro (C.). He was rewarded with the Cardinal's hat, taking his title from S. Eusebio. He died in Rome in 1451, at the age of sixty, after three years in the purple.

The tomb has, by various writers, been assigned to the workshop of Bregno; but inasmuch as Astorgio died some years before the earliest date at which the arrival of that sculptor in Rome can well be placed, the attribution is hardly tenable, and is only one more instance of the tendency which exists to ascribe to that source almost all the work which is without attested authorship.

If this tomb be carefully compared with that of Pius II. († 1464) in S. Andrea and that of Card. Tebaldi († 1466) in the Minerva Church, the similarity of design in all three will become apparent; and though the interval between the first and second makes it improbable that they should have proceeded from one hand, yet they seem to be in direct relation to one another. In each the rectangular design is used, each portion being separated by a horizontal course. The prototype of this style in Rome has generally been referred to the tomb of Eugenius IV. († 1447) in S. Salvatore in Lauro. If, however, the recent contention of the Signora Elisa Ciacci, that the structural portion of the Eugenius

tomb is not the original, be maintained, then it would follow that either this tomb of Astorgio, or else the Cardinal Chiavez († 1447) of the Lateran, is the oldest surviving tomb of the type in Rome. It should be noticed that in all the three tombs which I have here classed together, the sarcophagus is quite unlike those which are found in any known work by Bregno, following the shape of one of the porphyry baths or sarcophagi in which, at this date, wealthy lovers of classical learning chose to be buried. In each case the supports consist of fluted pilasters, ending in lion's claws. This exact combination does not occur in any other example but these three in Rome during the fifteenth century.

The Virtues which occupy the niches of the Astorgio tomb stand somewhat apart from the types which were conventional in Rome at about the date when the monument was carved. They are long, lean Amazonian figures, half-draped, wearing the soft ẹhiton and buskins, coming halfway to the knee. This is especially true of the Temperantia, who is of the type of a Diana. The modelling, though defective, has nevertheless a certain vitality and sense of beauty which does not belong to the Roman workshops of the day. I am disposed to see here, as in the Tebaldi and Pius II., the chisel of Tuscan craftsmen summoned to Rome. In the case of the Astorgio († 1451) tomb, it is quite possible that it is the work of a scholar or scholars of Filaréte. The name of Pasquino da Montepulciano naturally suggests itself. It is true that from 1450 to 1454 he seems to have been engaged with Maso di Bartolommeo on the portal of S. Domenico

Fig. 67.—MADONNA (Tomb of Agostino Maffei, Minerva).

Fig. 68.—MADONNA (Tomb of Pietro Ferrici, Minerva Cloister).

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at Urbino. That work, however, could hardly have occupied the whole time. Or, again, the monument may have been erected after an interval of several years. It is, however, obviously not possible to limit the field to a single name, nor even to the scholars of Filaréte. The lettering is very fine. Arms: two swords crossed.

(*b*) Card. Pietro Ferrici († 1478) (*adjacent to the preceding*), a Spaniard of Concentana, a 'castello' of Catalonia (C.). He was sent to Bologna, and studied civil and ecclesiastical law. He was much valued by Paul II., who made him Auditor of the Rota. In 1464 he became Bishop of Tarragona (Tiraso). He was sent as Commissary Apostolic to Maintz to settle dangerous disturbances, and in this and other offices he acquitted himself so well that C. declares him to have been 'the right hand of the Roman Pontiffs.' Within two years of his death he was made by Sixtus IV. Cardinal of S. Sisto. He was also Protector of the Order of Predicatori (Dominicans), within whose precincts he was buried, but whether originally in the church or in the cloister may once more be doubted. He died in his sixty-fourth year, with the reputation of a painstaking and honest man. The tomb, of the rectangular type, has been assigned to the workshop of A. Bregno, while the relief of the Virgin and Child has been attributed to Mino da Fiesole by Gnoli and Diego de Angelis. Schmarsow sees the hand of Capponi in the angels on either side of the Madonna. That the monument, with general structure, is the outcome of the Bregno workshop seems probable, and it is also evident that several

hands have been employed upon it. The sarcophagus, supported on lion's claws at the angles, has a guilloche moulding along its upper edge. The front, at either end of the large label which covers the greater part, shows a horseshoe, in allusion to the Cardinal's name, Ferrici. The relief of the Virgin and Child, though it shows undoubted traces of the influence of Mino da Fiesole, cannot be accepted as coming from his hand. It is a work of no small charm, but it lacks the precision and subtlety of touch in the cutting of the lips and in the modelling of the parts about the eyes which belong to the master himself. It is clearly the work of a capable sculptor strongly under the influence of the Florentine, and for the time being losing his own identity. The relief of the Madonna is not by the hand which carved the angels. The tomb, though it cannot quite take rank amongst the foremost tombs of Rome, is yet of good quality and of no small interest. Arms: four horseshoes in a cross.

(*c*) *Passage leading to Casanatense Library out of the Cloister.*—Andrea Bregno (Andrea da Milano), from Osteno, on Lake Lugano († 1506), one of the leading sculptors in Rome in the last half of the fifteenth century (see Chapter VI.). The monument, which is of a very simple and unpretending character, was once inside the church. The bust of the sculptor, enclosed in a medallion, is not a work of high merit, but nevertheless expresses well the character of this capable and honest craftsman. It is adorned with the tools of his craft—callipers, mallet, and chisel—and was, the inscription tells us, set up by his widow.

Photo *Alinari.*

FIG. 69.—JUAN DE MELLA (STA. MARIA DI MONSERRATO, CORTILE).

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STA. MARIA DI MONSERRATO (CHURCH OF THE SPANIARDS).—Most of the tombs were removed[1] hither from S. Giacopo degli Spagnuoli, Piazza Navona.

(*a*) Slab (*first on the left in the cortile*): Pedro Svaro Gusman (no date: late fifteenth-century work). He wears Roman civilian dress. There is a band of honeysuckle pattern on both sides. The work is tolerably good, but is much defaced by being walked on.

(*b*) Card. Juan de Mella († 1467), a Spaniard of Zamorra, brother of that Fra Alonso de Mella, the Franciscan, who, having joined the sect of the Fraticelli, and presently flying to Granada, was there murdered by Moors. Juan himself appears to have been trained in Rome, though Spanish writers say Toledo. By Martin V. he was made Auditor of the Rota and Bishop of Zamorra. He became Cardinal of Sta. Prisca in the second year of Callixtus III., the same which saw the creation of Roderigo Borgia, Don Luis Juan de Mila (sometimes confounded with De Mella), the Infante Jayme de Portugal (buried in S. Miniato), Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, Tebaldi, and Oliver Longueil. The election of De Mella was due to his character. He was deformed and lame, but his life was one of strenuous labour. He died in Rome at the age of seventy.

The tomb, dirty and neglected, has a sarcophagus of the early Bregnesque type, but the acanthus is spread more freely over it, and the usual heavy festoons are absent. An acanthus above each lion's foot spreads into this clustering trail, and curves over to fill the space at either end of the label. The Bishop lies in his robes, a little sideways, on the sarcophagus. There are two fluted

[1] This church not having been built till 1495.

pilasters on each side of the recess, within which the space is filled by three saints of excellent workmanship, whose authorship is undetermined. Venturi sees in it the work of a sculptor who took a share with Mino in the Cardinal Forteguerra (Sta. Cecilia), and with Bregno in the saints of the Cardinal Alano (Sta. Prassede).

(*c*) Slab (*cortile*): Bp. Rodericus Sancius de Arevalo († 1471). Spaniard; Bp. of Calahorra; Ambassador to the King of Castile and to Frederick III.; Castellan of S. Angelo. He dedicated to Bessarion a work in which he argued strongly against the growing belief in the virtue of Councils as moderators of the power of the Pope. He dedicated a second treatise on the same subject to Nicolas V. He also wrote a work on the 'Poverty of Christ'—the burning question between the two schools of Franciscan thought in his day—which he dedicated to Paul II. While he was Castellan of S. Angelo, Platina, the humanist, afterwards librarian and secretary to Sixtus IV., was his prisoner for over a year, during which time—the blame does not pertain to the Castellan—the unhappy man was tortured more than once, to no great purpose. Sanchez showed him kindness, and letters which survive, in the manner of the humanists, passed between them. Roderigo had also in his custody at one time Francesco di Anguillara (see S. Francesco a Ripa).[1]

[1] Roderigo's book 'Speculum Vitæ Humanæ' was the third which was printed in Rome by Pannartz and Sweynheym. It bears the date 1468, and was issued from the printing-press of the Germans in Palazzo Massimi alle Colonne. It is of great rarity. His work on 'The History of Spain' was printed in Rome by Ulrich Hahn, the last event recorded being the departure of Frederick III. from Rome in January, 1469.

The slab, well preserved, is of high quality, feelingly and expressively carved. It has strong affinities with the three saints on the opposite wall of the cloister in the Io de Mella tomb. Some authorities see in this slab the hand of the sculptor who carved the figure of Callixtus III. in the Grotte Vaticane.

(*d*) Francesco de Toledo († 1479) (*cortile*); served in important legations under Pius II., Paul II., Nicolas V., and Sixtus IV., and died suddenly when returning from Liguria.

The tomb is a sarcophagus within a bow, the latter with very rich arabesques, founded more fully on the acanthus than usual. Coloured and gilded. The upper part of the bow has a band of oak-leaves, intertwined with a fillet of good workmanship, a refreshing departure from Roman methods. The sarcophagus is of the plain shape found in the Tebaldi tomb, but without the supports, a large label nearly covering the whole front. The figure, heavily handled, lies very flat, and is difficult to see.

(*e*) Gondisalvus de Veteta († 1484) (*cortile*); of noble Castilian family; Legate of Ferdinand and Isabella to the Court of Sixtus IV. During his second mission to Rome he died in that city.

A fairly good tomb, though not of the first importance. Gonsalvo lies in civilian costume, though a soldier, in a long robe, bearing the cross of the Order of S. Iago on his arm. The recess is bow-shaped. The sarcophagus is almost wholly hidden by the label. The drapery is heavily cut. A guilloche surrounds the frame of the arch. The pilasters have an ornament of candelabra, with acanthus

growing out from them; they are somewhat dry and hard. Corinthian capitals, with cornice. The work throughout is strong and simple, but tending, especially in the ornament, to coarseness. It was erected by Callixtus III. when he was Cardinal Alfonso Borgia.

(*f*) Ferdinandus Cordubensis († 1486) (*cortile*), a distinguished jurist employed by Sixtus IV., etc. It is claimed for him also, in the inscription, that he was adorned with every kind of virtue. The tomb was erected by Cardinal Giorgio Costa (see Popolo).

The tomb, terribly dirty and neglected, has two fluted pilasters, with Corinthian capitals supporting a frieze with festoons of flowers, pateræ, ewers, and cross shields of small size. It has the bow-shaped arch above, and within the recess a second or lower lunette above the figure, which lies on a plain sarcophagus, with a disc on the front bearing the letters D.O.M. The *putti* holding the shields are fat and self-conscious. The figure and the sarcophagus resemble in design the Cesi monument at Narni. The Narni tomb also contains the double lunette, as in this tomb of Ferdinand, and the two are so similar in general design as to leave no doubt that they proceed from one workshop in Rome. But the handling of this Roman example is not equal to that of the Narni tomb. The head here is rather clumsily cut, and lacks quality. So, too, the hands. The handling of the drapery tends to facsimile, the edge of the robe in parts where it overlaps being cut almost as thin as paper. There is severe classicality in the architectural parts. The tomb has the appearance of being later than 1486.

D O M
PETRO AEQVITANO COMITI ET ADAVRVM EQVITI
PIETATIS ECCLESIASTICAE DIONIS CLARISS
OVIBVSQ CIVITATIBVS SEMEL ET ITERVMQ ITERANNIS
DOC SEVERE EXERCITATO VIGILANTIA INTEGRITATE FIDE
AEQVITATE ET IVSTITIA VSQ IN POMP MAX ACCEPTISS
SENATORI VRBIS ITER PROROGATO IN TRIENNIVM
MAGISTRATV ANNO ALTERO MAGNANIMO CONSILIO
NATOS ET PRINCIPIS DESIDERIO SE ESSE DESINENTI
GNATI V ANANIMES PARENTI OPTIMO BENEMERENTI POS
VIXIT ANN LV M III D XII
M CCCC LXXVII DIE III MEN MAII OBIIT

Photo *Alinari.*

FIG. 70.—PIETRO CESI (DUOMO, NARNI).

Photo *Alinari.*

FIG. 71.—FERNANDEZ DE CORDOVA (STA. MARIA DI MONSERRATO, CORTILE).

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(*g*) Incised slab (*left of portal*): Alvarez Gusman († 1502). A showy but inferior slab. There is a rich border. The lines are very thin and sharp, and even meaningless. The work is, in feeling, quite inferior to many less pretentious works of earlier centuries.

(*h*) Incised slab (*to right of portal*). No name. A civilian in full robes, his head on a pillow, with books beneath, and books also at his feet. Not a good work; fifteenth century.

(*i*) *Inside the Hall, beyond the Cortile.*—Francisco de Valentia († 1504), Prior and Canon of Zamorra; Protonotary Apostolic and Breviario to Alexander VI. A poor work; incised bronze.

(*j*) Slab of a nameless Prior of Burgos († 1488): with some attempt at rendering character in the burly figure of the unknown Prior.

(*k*) Alfonso de Paradinas († 1485), Bishop of Ciudad (*in the church, 3rd left*). He is described in the epitaph as a helper of the poor and of the oppressed, and the praise is deserved. He founded the Hospital of S. Giacomo degli Spagnuoli, in the Piazza Navona, in 1450, and was himself buried there; but in the year 1495, when the Spanish Church of Sta. Maria di Monserrato was built, the tombs were removed thither. All the monuments, therefore, of an earlier date than 1495 in the church or the cortile are from the older church.

The tomb, as we see it to-day, shows the good Bishop's figure at full length in an oblong and very shallow recess. At each end of the long label is to be seen a wing, forming a portion of the familiar form of support to be seen in other tombs of this type. The space is filled in with

books; a well-carved frieze divided into three portions, each with a single scallop-shell above a festoon of fruits, is below. The figure of Paradinas is of impossible length and somewhat stiff, but the details are well and carefully wrought. The face, evidently as literal a portrait as the sculptor could produce, is somewhat hard. The lettering of the epitaph is good.

(*l*) Juan de Fuensalida († 1498), a Spanish Bishop; secretary to Alexander VI. (*in the church, 3rd left*). The tomb was erected by his brother, Lopez de Fuensalida, one of Cæsar Borgia's field officers. It is a copy of the tomb of Paradinas on the opposite wall, but is inferior to it in all respects, though the face is not without beauty.

(*m*) Slab (*3rd chapel, left, below Paradinas*): Gundisalvo de Fuentes († 1480), Protonotary Apostolic; Dean of Saguntum; once in the service of Card. Gianbattista Cibò (nephew of Innocent VIII.), who placed this slab here. It is almost obliterated.

(*n*) Slab (*3rd chapel, left, below the tomb of Fuensalida*): Petrus de Ferera († 1490); Doctor of both laws; Dean; Auditor. The slab is very much worn, the face obliterated. The figure in its present state looks like that of a woman. Arms undecipherable.

(*o*) Slab: Petrus Alamanin († 1476) and his brother Didacus, of the noble family of the Monotori. Petrus was an Apostolic Scriptor. The two on one slab. The work is very good in all points. The drawing is unusually sensitive and masterly. The folds are given with simple but expressive force, and are full of meaning. The carving of the hands is very sensitive, yet very simple. The left arm

Photo *Alinari.*

FIG. 72.—BEATRICE E LAVINIA PONZETTI (STA. MARIA DELLA PACE).

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of the figure is superbly drawn, suggesting the shape of the arm beneath the sleeve. The slab was dedicated by Didacus to the memory of both brothers. I see in this slab the hand which carved that of Jacopo Bussi († 1476) in S. Pietro in Vincoli.

STA. MARIA DELLA PACE (built by Sixtus IV. in 1484).—(*a*) Tomb of Beatrice and Lavinia Ponzetti († 1505) (*left aisle*). These two sisters, of whom the former died at the age of eighteen, of plague, were nieces of Ferrando Ponzetti, Fiscal Secretary to Julius II., once body-physician to Innocent VIII. He afterwards became a Cardinal under Leo X., in 1517, and died in Rome in 1527. Whether or no he lies near or under the memorial which in 1509 he placed here to all of his family who should die in Rome, is not known to the writer.

(*b*) The tomb of the two sisters (1505), as well as that of the Ponzetti family (1509), is claimed for the art of Michele Marini (on that point see p. 145). It is only necessary here to point out that a close examination of the two monuments will disclose technical differences of handling, as well as characteristics of treatment, which will prevent us from regarding them as the work of one mind and chisel. The 1509 memorial is apparently by a less capable sculptor, who is bringing his work into conformity with the earlier work. The tomb of the two sisters has points of resemblance to the Benedetto Maffei tomb in the Minerva, also claimed for Marini. The hair in the 1505 tomb is handled in large and rather massive ringlets as in the S. Sebastian of the Minerva. In the 1509 tomb, the hair is frizzled, and the drill has been used. The medallions and

their slab are not in either case by the same hand which wrought the lower slab bearing the inscription.

(*c*) *Cortile.*—Giovanni Andrea Bocciaccio († 1497), Bp. of Modena ; Legate to Ferdinand of Sicily under Sixtus IV.; one of the Savoy inquisitors under Innocent VIII. and Alexander VI.

Of this tomb only the figure and sarcophagus with two pilasters have survived, the greater part of what we now see being plaster restoration. The figure is the best part, and possibly proceeded from the Bregno workshop. The arabesques and ornament are by an inferior carver, and a certain commonplace air is given to it by its details, such as the brick-pattern which fills up the space at the sides. The tomb is hardly one of note.

Sta. Maria del Popolo (rebuilt by Sixtus IV. about 1480, and remodelled by Bernini. Some of the chapels have also undergone individual restoration, and many of the monuments have been dismantled and cast out. No tomb survives from the earlier church).

(*a*) Card. Cristoforo della Rovere († 1477), son of Giovanni della Rovere, who was brother of Francesco (Sixtus IV.). He is said to have been born in Turin (C.), educated at Bologna, where he won distinction. Bp. of Tarantasia. His uncle made him Prefect of S. Angelo (C.) and Cardinal of S. Vitale ; but he wore the purple only for one month, dying in his forty-fourth year.

(*b*) Card. Domenico della Rovere († 1501), younger brother of Cristoforo, lies in the same tomb, which the inscription tells us he had prepared for himself and his brother. He was Canon of Lausanne ; Bp. of Monte-

Photo *Anderson.*

FIG. 73.—GIOVANNI BOCCIACCIO (STA. MARIA DELLA PACE, CORTILE).

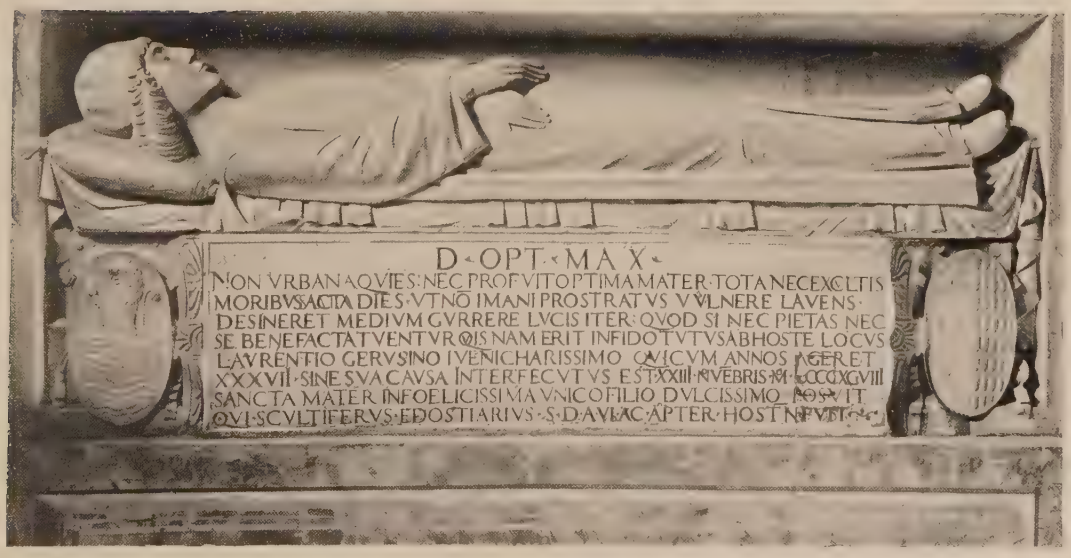
D·OPT·MAX·
NON VRBANA QVIES NEC PROFVIT OPTIMA MATER TOTA NEC EXCLTIS
MORIBVS ACTA DIES VT NO IMANI PROSTRATVS VVLNERE LAVENS
DESINERET MEDIVM GVRRERE LVCIS ITER QVOD SI NEC PIETAS NEC
SE BENEFACTA VENTVRIS NAM ERIT INFIDO TVTVS AB HOSTE LOCVS
LAVRENTIO GERVSINO IVENI CHARISSIMO QVI CVM ANNOS AGERET
XXXVII SINE SVA CAVSA INTERFECTVS EST XXIII NVEBRIS M CCCXCVIII
SANCTA MATER INFOELICISSIMA VNICO FILIO DVLCISSIMO POSVIT
QVI SCVLTI FERVS EDOSTIARIVS S DAVLAC APTER HOSTIVM

Photo *Moscioni.*

FIG. 74.—LORENZO GERUSINO (STA. MARGHERITA).

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fiascone (where he began the Cathedral, but did not see it far beyond its foundations); Nunzio to the Court of Savoy; Prefect of S. Angelo (C.); Bp. of Tarantasia (C.), and in 1483 of Turin. He was at the Conclaves which elected Innocent VIII. and Alexander VI. He died in Turin, having been a Cardinal for twenty-three years. He built the Palazzo dei Penitenzieri (still existing), near the Hospital of S. Spirito in Rome. Here he entertained Charles VIII. of France on his return journey from Naples in 1495. He commissioned Pinturicchio to paint the Chapel of Sta. Maria e San Girolamo, in which he lies buried, and he built the Cathedral of Turin. A dull man, of little learning, says Creighton, but honest and of good reputation.

The tomb is one of the best in Rome, and deserves careful study. It is, without doubt, by Andrea Bregno, but the relief of the Virgin and Child is by Mino da Fiesole. Most writers confine the work of the latter to this relief. It is, however, possible that the Florentine may have carved the face of the dead Cardinal, which is of great merit (see p. 106). Some writers have attributed the general design of the tomb to Mino; the author sees no reason to doubt that it is due to Bregno.

(*c*) Card. Gianbattista Mellini († 1478) (*3rd chapel, left*), son of Saba Mellini, of noble Roman family; younger brother of Pietro Mellini, the celebrated jurist (buried in Popolo). John XXIII. made him a Canon of the Lateran at the age of seven. The astounding experiment was made on a naturally good material, which saved the issue. He won the laurel at the newly-founded Archiginnasio Romano, and received great

encouragement from Martin V. Eugenius IV. desired to alter the constitution of the Lateran by removing the secular Canons and restoring the regular only. Mellini refused to resign his canonry. The Pope then appointed a commission of three—Parentucelli (Nicolas V.), Barbo (Paul II.), and Angifilo—to make inquisition into the morals of Mellini, who emerged from the ordeal entirely triumphant. Nicolas V., on his accession, again attempted to persuade Mellini, and, with some difficulty, prevailed. Nicolas V. made him Vicar of St. Peter's and manager of the alms of the basilica, in which task he showed great capacity. He declined the Bishoprics of Sutri and Anagni. He went with Card. Alain (buried in Sta. Prassede) as Envoy from Callixtus III., and won the favour of the King as surely as Alain lost it. In a mission to Germany he again won credit, and was made Auditor of the Rota and Datario. It is said that in this capacity he dared to speak his mind freely to Paul II. Once more he did good service after the murder of Galeazzo Sforza by helping to restore quiet in Milan. He found his own rest in his seventy-third year, after two years in the purple, dying at Monte Mario, in the beautiful villa which still bears the family name.

This little-noticed tomb was originally in St. Peter's, but was transferred—whether in its entirety or no is not recorded—to the Popolo. We see nothing but the sarc. with Mellini's figure. It differs a good deal from much of the mechanical work of its day in Rome. The inevitable fruit and flowers are handled richly and softly, and with a waxiness of surface that belongs to a Tuscan rather than

to a Roman chisel. The overhanging drapery runs in one sweep from head to foot, but does not agree with the handling of any other tomb which can be quoted in Rome. The writer sees here the carving of a second-rate Tuscan employed in a Roman workshop.

(*d*) Bp. Pietro Guglielmo Rocca († 1482) of Valencia, high in the favour of Ferrante of Naples, by whose influence he became, under Sixtus IV., Bishop of Salerno, Protonotary, etc.

The tomb should be carefully compared with that of Cristoforo della Rovere († 1477) and Costa († 1508; tomb ordered in his lifetime), a comparison which will leave no doubt as to their having proceeded from one workshop—namely, that of Bregno. A fourth example, on exactly the same model, is that of Sopranzi († 1495) in the Minerva. The differences are those of workmanship, in which respect the Cristoforo della Rovere shows the master hand, and is the prototype of the others. In the case of the Rocca monument, the panel which usually holds the inscription is occupied by a relief of the Crucifixion.

(*e*) Pietro Mellini († 1483) (*left aisle*), son of Saba Mellini, a jurist of the highest reputation, who, earlier in his life, had taken in hand the confused mass of Roman statutes, and ably revised them and reduced them to order. The Codex is in the Vatican. He was Conte Palatino and Chancellor to the city of Rome (Gr.). It was owing to the value set upon Pietro's services that his brother (see above) was, as a mere child, placed in high offices. The Mellini were an ancient Roman family whose palace stood in the Piazza Navona, where the Church of

Sta. Agnese now stands. They owned also the beautiful Monte Malo (Clivus Cinnæ), which crowns the heights between the Vatican and the Ponte Molle. Here Pietro built in 1470 the Cappella della S. Croce[1] (Gr.). It was to the occupancy of one of Pietro's sons, Mario, who had married Ginepra, daughter of Domenico Cibò, that the hill owed its gradual transformation from Monte Malo to Monte Mario. Another of Pietro's sons, Celso Mellini, was also a distinguished citizen.

The tomb of Pietro Mellini, now reduced to the bier and reposing figure of the jurist, has become of singular importance since the publication of a document, which, if attested, would prove that the figure was carved by Paolo de Nisio Romano, while the ornaments are therein assigned to his pupil, Gian Cristoforo Romano.[2] The figure is of great beauty. The tomb was once, no doubt, of the type, slightly modified, of the Marcantonio Albertoni and the Giovanni della Rovere, both in this church. The tombs of Raffaello della Rovere (Apostoli) and the lower portions of the Ammanati and of his mother, Constantia (both in S. Agostino cloister), can be assigned to the same workshop. Particular attention should be paid to the fine and expressive carving of the hands (see p. 117).

(*f*) Giovanni della Rovere († 1483) (*3rd chapel, right*).

[1] There had been of old a cross here of great sanctity, and much resorted to by pilgrims. It was here that Frederic III. passed the night on his way to Rome to meet his bride-elect, Leonora of Portugal. Pietro's chapel was built in honour of this cross.

[2] See Chapter VII. with reference to the document in question.

Not of the Della Rovere family. His original name was Giovanni Guglielmo Basso, and he took the name of Della Rovere on marrying Lucchina or Lucchesina, sister of Francesco (Sixtus IV.). He was a general dealer in Savona. His three sons—Girolamo, Bp. of Recanate; Francesco, Prior of Pisa; and Bartolommeo, Bp. of Ferrara—raised this monument to his memory. The incidents of his life are not recorded, and he has been wrongly confused with Giovanni della Rovere, youngest brother of Giuliano (Julius II.), Prefect of the city, who was his nephew, and married the daughter of Federigo di Montefeltro, founding the line of the Della Rovere of Urbino.

In design and treatment the tomb is analogous to the Raffaello della Rovere († 1477) (Apostoli), the Pietro Mellini († 1483) (Popolo), and the Ammanati tombs (1477-1479) (S. Agostino cloister). But the actual handling of this work is, when closely examined, less refined than that of the two first-named in several particulars. The figure especially, though fine and simple, is less sympathetically handled, and with less caressing of the marble surface. The work of the plinth below the inscription is of finer workmanship than the remainder of the ornament. The monument, though not of the first rank, is of no small beauty, and may be assigned to the workshop which produced the group of monuments referred to in Chapter VII.

(*g*) Marcantonio Albertoni († 1485) (*4th chapel, right aisle*), knight, of noble Roman family, who died of plague at the age of thirty, in the first year of the Papacy of Innocent VIII.

The tomb is one of the most beautiful in Rome, and bears evidence of strong Florentine influence. The facts concerning the authorship of the monument and the claims of the rival documents which purport to relate to it are given in Chapter VII.

(*h*) Card. Pietro Foscari († 1485)[1] (*3rd chapel, right*), a Venetian; nephew of Doge Francesco Foscari, who obtained the favour of his countryman, Paul II. (Barbo), and on November 21, 1468, was made Cardinal, with Marco Barbo, Gianbattista Savelli, and Giovanni Michiele. Yet we find that at the Conclave which elected Paul's successor, Sixtus IV., in 1471, Savelli and Foscari had not yet been published, and, on the protest of Card. Orsini, their votes were excluded. In 1477 Sixtus acknowledged him as Cardinal. He died at Bagni, near Viterbo, 1485. He had served as Protonotary Apostolic to Paul II., and had the reputation of being a zealous and efficient Prelate.

The recumbent bronze figure of Pietro Foscari is all that has been preserved. It has been assigned to various artists, including Vecchietta and Pollainolo, but has been of late attributed to A. Rizzo. For some time the figure was believed to represent another person, but its identity is now established, though its attribution to Rizzo is not convincing. The tomb was probably in the Chapel of SS. Peter and Paul, and near it was that of a relation, Girolamo Foscari, who died in 1563. When the tomb

[1] The year of Foscari's death is given at various dates from 1483 to 1486 by various authors. His name is not recorded at the Conclave of 1484, but absence from a Conclave does not imply that the Cardinal was dead.

(like many others) was dismantled, the bronze figure was placed under the monument of Podocatharus, and being mistaken for the effigy of Girolamo, that name was engraved upon it.

(*i*) Nestore Malvizzi († 1488) (*in the sacristy passage*), Bishop of Bologna. By his will he directed the tomb to be erected to himself and his brothers—Theseus, Bessarion, and Marcantonio. The figure rests on a bier, which is supported above a sarcophagus in the manner originated in Rome by Mino da Fiesole in the Forteguerra monument in S. Cecilia. This, however, is a modification of that method, differing in several particulars. The recess above is square, flanked by double pilasters of good work on each side. The frieze above has three festoons of flowers. This is a very simple tomb, of excellent workmanship and feeling. The sarcophagus is carved in reticent but very refined style. The festoons of olives are as good of their kind as any to be seen in Rome. There is much delicate calculation of the mouldings and hollows. The flowers and fruits of the frieze, though not equal to the work of the sarcophagus, are yet better than in most Roman tombs, and the figure, though badly seen in its present position (it was once inside the church), is very beautiful. The ornament placed on the top—a scroll, with the Saviour in the middle—did not belong to the tomb, which, considering its merit, has been much overlooked. Arms: three fleurs-de-lis over a single bend. The tomb should be compared, both for design and workmanship, with that of Brusati in S. Clemente, the work of Luigi Capponi, to whom the author is inclined to attribute also this tomb.

(*j*) Card. Bernardino Lonate († 1497) (*left transept*), a native of Pavia; made Card.-Deacon of S. Ciriaco in the first year of Alexander VI., on the same day as John Morton, Cesare Borgia, Alessandro Farnese (Paul III.), and Ippolito d'Este, son of Ercole and Leonora (see p. 104), through the influence, it is said, of Ascanio Sforza, with whom he was closely associated. Lonate, with the Cardinals Giuliano della Rovere, Ascanio Sforza, Sanseverino, Colonna, and Savelli, formed a coalition against Alexander. He, with Ascanio Sforza and Savelli, was thrown into S. Angelo in 1494. But in 1496 Alexander entrusted his war against the Orsini to the Duke of Gandia and Guidobaldo of Urbino, with Lonate as Legate. At the battle of Soriano, near Bracciano, on January 23, 1497, Vitellozzo and Carlo Orsini inflicted a sore defeat upon the Papal troops. Guidobaldo was taken prisoner. The Pope's son was wounded, and Lonate escaped with great difficulty. His experiences that day are said to have led to his illness and death in the same year.

If the documents quoted by Paolo Giordani could be verified, the tomb would be proved by an entry of the year 1506 in the book of the Confraternità di Santo Spirito to be from the hand of Gian Cristoforo Romano. On the subject of these documents, see pp. 163, 164. The writer is, however, disposed, without relying on the document, to believe that the tomb is from the workshop of Gian Cristoforo.

(*k*) Card. Antoniotto Pallavicini († 1501) (*1st chapel, left*), a Genoese patrician; is said to have been of originally Spanish origin. He went to Rome, and entered the

service of the Genoese Cardinal Gianbattista Cibò (Innocent VIII.), who recommended him to Sixtus IV. He became Bp. of Ventimiglia (1484); Datary; Bishop of Orense (1486), Pampeluna, Nicosia, Tournay, Cuma, Lavengro; Apostolic Legate to Orvieto. 'Much appreciated,' says C., 'by Alexander VI.,' to whom, indeed, at the Conclave he had sold his vote. He received the Bishopric of Pampeluna. A man of little learning and of little deep morality, but of pleasant and genial manners, who succeeded in tiding through the troublous days of the Borgia. Yet he is said to have had boldness enough to give offence by his free criticisms of Julius II., a less vindictive enemy. No other incident is recorded which implies much worth in the career of the easygoing Cardinal, who in 1503 was one of the leading candidates for the Papacy, 'being favoured by the Spaniards.' He was buried in St. Peter's, but the tomb was transferred to the Popolo Church in 1596, to which date the inscription belongs.

(*l*) Bp. Juan Ortega Gomiel (*no date, early years of sixteenth century*) (*sacristy*), a Spaniard; Bp. of Burgos; Subdeacon of St. Peter's; Datary. His life is chiefly of interest for the incident which opened the road to his advancement. Floridus, Archbp. of Cosenza, private secretary to Alexander VI., who had been all-powerful with the Pope, was accused of forging Papal dispensations. The King of Spain stood with the accusers. The crime had become common. Innocent VIII. had burned two of his *Bullarii* (Apostolic Secretaries) on the Campo dei Fiori without suppressing the profitable

practice. The unhappy Floridus asserted his innocence, but yielded to torture. He was thrown into the pit or dungeon of S. Angelo, where he was provided with bread, water, a lamp, and a breviary, and soon ceased to have use for any of them. Ortega Gomiel was at once (1498) promoted, but held office for a year or two only. He was succeeded by Card. Adrian of Corneto, to whom the death of Alexander VI. is commonly attributed.

The tomb was raised by Francesco, brother of Ortega. In its main features it appears to be founded in its upper portion on the lines of the Coca monument in the Minerva († 1477); but it differs from the latter not merely in the quality of the workmanship, but in the fact that the space filled in the Coca monument by the fresco is here occupied by a relief of very poor character and taste. There is nothing to suggest that the tomb was prepared in Ortega's lifetime, and it appears to be an adaptation carried out by capable workshop hands after a long interval of time. The figure of the Bishop on the sarcophagus is of good workmanship, but shows a return to the rigidity of the earlier Roman craftsmen.

(*m*) Card. Lodovico Podocatharo († 1504) (*right transept*), a Greek of Cyprus, born at Nicosia, who came to Italy with Carlotta of Cyprus, when she sought an asylum in Rome in the Pontificate of Sixtus IV. He became private secretary — some say also body-physician — to Card. Rodrigo Borgia, as afterwards to Innocent VIII. He was made Rector of the University of Padua; Bishop of Capaccio (1483); Card.-Priest of Sta. Agata in Suburra; Secretary for Papal Briefs; and,

under Julius II., Archbp. of Benevento. Before the Conclave which elected Piccolomini as Pius III., the Mantuan Ambassador, Ghivizzano, wrote to his master: 'Podocataro, Pallavicino, and Piccolomini have the best chance.' A little later: 'To one of these three the tiara will fall—if to Podocataro, because he is a good man; if to the others, because they are neutral, and are favoured by the Spanish Cardinals.'

An entry, quoted by Paolo Giordani as coming from the book of the Confraternità of Santo Spirito for 1907, would assign the tomb to Gian Cristoforo Romano (see, however, pp. 163, 164). In any case, even if the tomb came from his workshop, very little is due to his chisel.

(*n*) Card. Ascanio Maria Sforza († 1505) (*choir, right side*), son of Francesco Sforza, youngest brother of Galeazzo Maria Sforza, of Milan (murdered), and of Lodovico il Moro; born at Cremona; made Card.-Deacon of SS. Vito e Modesto in 1484, at the instance of Lodovico; Bp. of Cremona, 1486; Bp. of Pesaro, 1488, in which year he laid the foundation of the Cathedral of Pavia; Abbot of Chiaravalle, near Milan; Legate of the Patrimony, Romagna, Bologna, Ravenna, Avignon; Vice-Chancellor, 1492; Bishop of Erlau, with a revenue of 10,000 ducats. Under Innocent VIII. he served as Envoy to the camp of the Orsini at Isola, when the Pope was at war with Naples. At the Conclave which, in 1492, was to elect Alexander VI. the chances of Ascanio stood highest, though his relationship to Milan was against him. Whatever his prospect, he thought best to accept a price from Borgia. At all times, in the corrupt and changing politics of

the day he took his share, and during the days of Alexander VI. his life was many times in danger—saved, perhaps, by fear of Milan. There is little doubt that he was marked for destruction sooner or later, both by Alexander and Cæsar, but the ruin came from Venice at last. At the battle near Rivalla in 1500 he was taken prisoner, and was passed on by the Venetians to France, where he was in prison for several years at Bourges. He was allowed to return to the Conclave which elected Julius II., and died, probably of plague, in 1505, the most conspicuous type in prosperity and fall of the intriguing Prince-Cardinal of Renascence days.

The tomb by Andrea Sansovino was, like that of Girolamo Basso, erected by the order of Julius II., once his rival, afterwards his comrade in opposing Alexander VI.

(*o*) Card. Giovanni de Castro († 1506) (*1st chapel, right*), son of the jurist Paolo de Castro. He had in his youth made a fortune in Byzantium by dyeing Italian stuffs (probably from Florence, of the *arte della lana*) with Turkish alum. He was ruined by the fall of Byzantium, and, returning to Italy, became Treasurer to Pius II., Bp. of Girgenti, Bp. of Schleswig, Abbot of Fossanuova. His technical knowledge enabled him to recognize, in one of his wanderings, the presence of alum at Tolfa, near Civita Vecchia. 'I have come,' he said to Pius, then anxiously gathering funds for his crusade, 'to tell you of your victory over the Turks—an income of 300,000 ducats which they will presently pay you. I have found seven hills, full of the best alum in the world.' And for 300 years the

supply was unfailing, till the discovery of chemical substitutes supplanted it. Pius II. issued a Bull commanding Christendom to use no other. The Camera Apostolica made 100,000 ducats a year by it. Pius said that the Cardinal deserved a public statue, but he did not raise one, and the practical man of business received his reward at last in the strange shape of a Cardinal's hat, under Alexander VI. in 1496, as titular of Sta. Prisca.

The tomb in the same chapel as that of Cristoforo della Rovere should be compared with the latter for evidence of the change which thirty years wrought in the aims and character of Roman monumental sculpture. This tomb, executed at the beginning of the century, under Julius II., with its restless flaunting angels, its pretentious ornament, its self-conscious Virtues, its total lack of quiet repose and thoughtfulness, has in it all the elements of the decay which was to overtake Italian sculpture before the century went out. It is included here merely as an important illustration of the coming change.

(*p*) Card. Girolamo Basso della Rovere († 1507) (*choir*), son of Giovanni Guglielmo Basso (*buried in 3rd chapel, right*) and Lucchina, sister of Francesco (Sixtus IV.). Made by his uncle Bp. of Albenga, transferred to Recanate (1477) and Loreto; Cardinal of Sta. Balbina; Protector of the Carmelite Order and of Sta. Casa di Loreto; Bp. of Gubbio, 1482. A man of upright life and character, who devoted himself to his bishopric and to his charges, and steered clear of the intrigues of his day. Died at Fabbrica a Castello, near Civita Castellana, in 1507, having been for twenty-nine years a Cardinal. His income, in the assess-

ment of Alexander VI., is stated at 11,000 ducats; but he spent it largely in good works, in increasing the splendour of the Santa Casa at Loreto, and in other undertakings within his diocese.

The tomb, which was erected by order of Julius II., his cousin, is by Andrea Sansovino (see p. 175).

(*q*) Card. Giorgio Costa († 1508) (*4th chapel, right*), born in Alpedrin, an obscure town in Beira, Portugal, in 1406, and lived to the age of 102. He is said, though not by all records, to have been of very humble origin; but, inspired by the chance prophecy of an unknown pilgrim that he would end his life as a Cardinal, he took heart of grace, and succeeded in reaching Paris, to be educated for his future hope, and, returning thence, became parish priest of S. Araneo. Fortune decreed that the Sovereigns of Portugal, flying from plague, sought this refuge, and took a fancy to Costa.

He became confessor to Catherine, daughter of King Edward of Portugal; Archdeacon of Lisbon; Bp. of Evora; Protector of the University of Coimbra, and so upwards to the purple as titular Card. of SS. Pietro e Marcellino; Bp. of Porto (under Alexander VI.), and *in commenda* held the Church of S. Lorenzo in Lucina, which was next door to his palace in the Via Flaminia (called the Corso since the days of Paul II.). This palace occupied the site of that which had been built by Jean le Jeune, and is now covered by the Palazzo Fiano. The wealth and magnificence of the Portuguese Cardinal caused the arch of Marcus Aurelius, which spanned the Via Flaminia at this point, to acquire the

Photo *Anderson.*

FIG. 75.—BENEDETTO SOPRANZI (MINERVA).

FIG. 76.—PIETRO FERRICI (MINERVA CLOISTER).

Photo *Alinari.*

FIG. 77.—GIORGIO COSTA (POPOLO).

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name of the Arco di Portogallo.[1] A year before Costa's death, in 1507, when Julius II. made triumphal return to Rome, this arch was sumptuously decorated by Costa with allegorical statuary and other adornment in the taste of that day. The Cardinal could well afford it. He stood high in the favour of Julius, and though at the age of 101 he can hardly be accused of looking forward to preferment, he had some to look back on. He held an incredible list of benefices. He was Bishop of Lisbon, Braga, Visen, Porto, Evora, Cento ; owner of eight deaneries in the rich churches of Portugal; Abbot of twenty-six abbeys, some of them richly endowed. He was the type of the sage and easygoing Prince-Cardinal who, avoiding the dangerous intrigues of the day, made himself acceptable to Pontiff after Pontiff, and having accomplished the pilgrim's prophecy at the age of seventy-six, enjoyed the purple for thirty-two years, and 'laid down the spoils of his mortality,' says the chronicler, in peace. He had, with Giuliano della Rovere, been deputed to go to Narni to receive the Holy Lance, sent by the Sultan Bajazet of Turkey as a present to Alexander VI., for which Lorenzo Cibò built the chapel in St. Peter's. The life, lacking in dramatic interest, is yet so typical that it is given here at greater length than the personality seems to claim.

The tomb is an almost exact facsimile of the Cristoforo

[1] This arch is shown in an engraving by S. Blaau, Amsterdam, 1704, which, however, can hardly be viewed with confidence, since Alexander VII. had destroyed it in 1662 to improve the traffic of the Corso, or, it is said, to improve the course for the carnival horse-race. The Ara Pacis Augustæ once stood close by.

della Rovere († 1477), but, as has been said, in less masterly workmanship, and is evidently from Bregno's workshop. The date of the Cardinal's death (1508) is long after that of the tomb, which the Cardinal had prepared in his lifetime. Probably its date may be placed within a few years of the completion of the Cristoforo monument, and at the time when the Cardinal dedicated the Chapel of Sta. Caterina in which it stands. This would, of necessity, be soon after the building of the church in 1480. At the age of eighty Costa might well expect to be soon ready for his tomb, and he may well have been fascinated by the model which was being set up in the same church to his brother Cardinal, and have ordered his own on the same lines from the same workshop.

Grave-Slabs in the Pavement of Sta. Maria del Popolo.— The slabs remaining in the church are of good quality, though not of early date as a rule, few having survived from the earlier church before its remodelling in the days of Sixtus IV. Gr. states also that in his own day he had seen many tombs cast out of the church. The slabs have suffered much from the wear of feet, and the inscriptions are often illegible. Some are invisible beneath the confessionals. A few only are selected here:

1. Relief slab (*left side*): 'Hic jacet venerabilis Vir—— MCCCCXIX.' Gothic letter, much obliterated. A fine slab of a civilian.

2. High-relief slab: A civilian in turban berretta, with hanging sash; short tunic; broad sleeves to the elbows, fitting tightly at the wrists, which are crossed. The costume suggests a merchant (see the slabs of the

Minerva). The slab is of fine quality. First half of fifteenth century.

3. Relief slab (*between 2nd and 3rd piers, right*): A very fine slab, with a full-length figure of a man in the style of the middle of the fifteenth century. The style approaches that of Donatello's Crivelli in Araceli. Two *putti* hold up a patera, with a shield showing a horseshoe above a star. There is a shell-shaped canopy above the head. The inscription has 'SCI. SERVI.,' etc.

4. High-relief slab (*to right of left portal*): 'Filippo de Luna, 1449.' A man in costume similar to the last. The head a little sideways; the face much worn. Fine bold Roman letter.

5 and 6. High-relief slabs (*left transept*) of a man and woman. Late fifteenth century.

7. High-relief slab: A tomb with no other mark than a relief of a knight on horseback; very fine in its way. Fifteenth century.

8. High-relief slab (*right transept*): Fine relief of a Bishop. Fifteenth century.

9. High-relief slab (*right transept*): A civilian. Fifteenth century.

10. High-relief slab: Bp. Francesco Battista Miliada; doubtless a relative of the Miliada whose tomb is in S. Giovanni dei Genovesi. The Bishop is described in the inscription, in hexameters, as 'cultor decori.' The slab is of heavy style. Late fifteenth century.

11. High-relief slab (*No. 4 chapel, right*): Georgio Archiepiscopo Bracharin, who died suddenly in Rome. Placed here by Giorgio Costa, Card. of Portugal, whose

tomb, prepared many years before his own death, probably stood already *in situ*. There is no date. The Archbishop lies in full robes, his hands crossed. The relief is very deep. There is a very rich spiral border round the slab. The arms: a St. Catherine's wheel.

12. High-relief slab (*1st left*): Johannes de Montemirabili († 1479), 'Breviario Apostolico' and Secretary to Sixtus IV.; Bishop of Vaison; died at the age of seventy. A fine and well-preserved slab. The Bishop lies in his full robes, which are most carefully and completely rendered. The well-shaped, intellectual, but slightly cynical, face has suffered little injury from time.

S. Martino ai Monti (Slabs in the Pavement).—1. Incised slab (*nave, under the 7th column*): a Bishop; face obliterated, otherwise well preserved. The upper portion of the canopy and the lower portion of the slab are cut off, carrying with them parts of the inscription. There is a band of mosaic down either side; a deep-cut ornament at the foot of the vestment. His hands, with gloves, are crossed. The inscription in Gothic letter, ill-cut, much worn, and interrupted, states that he was a Prior of S. Martino. Date: 1296. A good early example.

2. Incised slab (*nave, opposite 6th column, right*): 'Phanellus filius Tibaldi de Veneraneriis.' Gothic letter, clear, but irregular. A civilian, wearing a berretta, with projecting ears: dress, buttoned at the throat, descending to feet. Arms: fleurs-de-lis and seven hills, parted in pale. The slab, not of the highest quality, is interesting, is well preserved, and has the

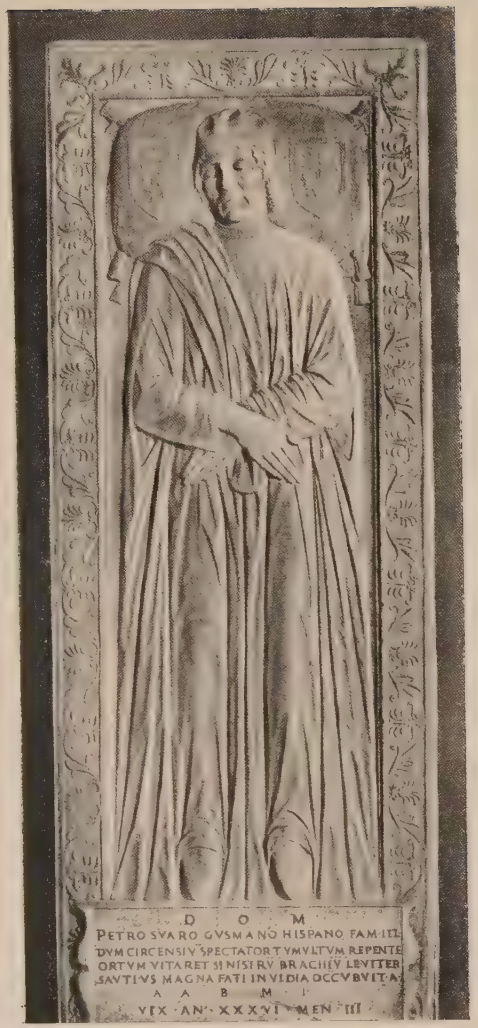
D O M
PETRO SVARO GVSMANO HISPANO FAMILI
DVM CIRCENSIVM SPECTATOR TYMVLTVM REPENTE
ORTVM VITA RETINISI RVBRACHIVM LEVITER
SAVTIVS MAGNA FATI INVIDIA OCCVBVIT A
A A B M I
VIX AN XXXVI MEN III

Photo *Alinari.*

FIG. 78.—PIETRO SVARO GUSMAN (STA. MARIA DI MONSERRATO, CORTILE).

Photo *Alinari.*

FIG. 79.—GIOVANNI DI MONTEMIRABILI (POPOLO).

FIG. 80.—GIUSEPPE BRIPI (S. ALESSIO).

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merit of clearness. Early fourteenth or late thirteenth century.

3. Incised slab (*5th column, left*): a very tall figure of a Bishop under a Gothic canopy, well preserved. He holds a crosier across his body. The face (as so often happens) is cut timidly, but the rest of the figure has deep and broad lines of great boldness. Cherub heads in the angles. Late fourteenth century.

4. Incised slab (*opposite 6th column, left*): 'Corpus Petrucii Sapognoli.' A much obliterated figure of a civilian. The Gothic letters of the inscription, cut deep, have fared better. No date. Fourteenth century.

5. Incised slab (*opposite 7th column, left*): 'Petrus filius Gregorii Charansois [a gap filled by a patch of marble] regione sci Marchi' (1346). A figure, very tall, in full chain armour, worn under a mantle decorated with spangles; the gloved hands crossed on the breast; the face timidly cut. Indeed, the work is everywhere feeble, but of interest as a record of costume.

Sta. Maria in Trastevere.—(*a*) Card. Philip d'Alençon († 1397) (*left side of transept*), of the Royal House of Valois. He was son of Charles II., Count of Alençon († 1346), and brother of Charles III., Count of Alençon († 1375), and of Peter II., Count of Alençon († 1404). He was nephew of Philip VI. of Valois († 1350), and cousin of John II. († 1364), both Kings of France; Bp. of Beauvais, Auch, Rouen; Patriarch of Jerusalem; Card. of Sta. Maria in Trastevere; Archpriest of Vatican; Legate to Flanders; Vicar of Patrimony; Patriarch of Aquileia, etc. (see pp. 47, 48).

The tomb in its present condition contains but a few fragments of the original, and has been seriously mutilated. The recumbent figure, cut short to fit its present recess, the relief below the figure, the inscription, and possibly the mosaic cornice, alone remain from the original monument (see p. 47). The inscription in Gothic character tells us that the Cardinal died on the Festival of St. Luke (October 18) and of the death of the Virgin, to which event the bas-relief refers. The latter appears to the author to be the work of a Tuscan rather than of a Roman chisel.

(*b*) Card. Pietro Stefaneschi degli Annibaldi della Molara († 1417), Card.-Deacon of S. Angelo; Card.-Vicar of Rome under Gregory XII., etc. (see p. 50).

The tomb, by Magister Paulus, preserves more of its original details than its neighbour the Alençon—namely, the sarcophagus, the reclining figure, and the mosaic band of the cornice, the portion above the latter alone being a modern addition. On the other hand, the figure itself appears to have been cut short at the feet (see p. 53). The tomb is one of the latest in Rome which retains the medieval spirit, and similarly the inscription is one of the last in which Gothic character is used. The sculptor's signature in the last line of the inscription runs 'MAGISTER PAULUS FECIT HOC OPUS.'

(*c*) *Right Side of Nave.*—Tabernacle by Mino del Reame, formerly attributed to Mino da Fiesole. Signed 'OPUS MINI.' Regilt and renewed late in last century.

(*d*) Cosmatesque pavement (restored).

In the Portico.—1. High-relief slab: 'Pater D. Johs

[next word obliterated, perhaps 'Petrus' (?)] de Luca' († 1444), Bp. of Adria. Arms: three bends.

2. High-relief slab: Io Baptista Miconiello. No date. Late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. A civilian in full robes, wearing a broad berretta, with long hair.

3. Very high relief slab. No name. A figure holding a book in his left hand, a scroll in his right. There is no inscription, and the relief, which is very deep, is badly worn.

S. Omobuono (Via della Consolazione).—Stefano Satri dei Baronii and his son, Giovanni Battista Satri; erected in her own lifetime to her husband and son and herself by Maddalena degli Ariotti.[1] Late fifteenth century. The tomb is of secondary value, and is chiefly noticeable for its deliberate and not unsuccessful endeavour in the bas-relief of the three members of the family to imitate a late Roman relief of Imperial times. The round fifteenth-century berretta of Stefano, coupled with the classical toga, is somewhat destructive of the illusion. The relief, however, and the honeysuckle pattern in the angles above it are good work, and of better quality than the frieze of fruits and flowers on the face of the sarcophagus below. The arms show three rosettes above a bar, with two swords or daggers. The tomb can claim the merit of original treatment.

S. Onofrio (Trastevere).—Giovanni Sacco († 1505),

[1] The inscription describes Stefano as 'hujus Basilicæ instauratori,' and S. Omobuono was never a basilica. It is evident that the tomb was moved hither from another place, probably S. Giorgio in Velabro, at its restoration.

a native of Ancona; Bp. of Ragusa, Datario, and Referendario under Innocent VIII. and Alexander VI.; Legate to the Court of France; Governor of Bologna under Julius II. An early sixteenth-century tomb, not of the highest quality. The figure of the Bishop is, however, fairly good. The SS. Peter and Paul are third-rate work. It is to be noticed that the sarcophagus has the helmet-like device described on pp. 90, 91. Arms: a lion, with a chequered bend.

Pavement slab: Bp. Io Baptista Garzono, a Venetian, whose death-date appears to be 1500; but as the years of his life are left blank, it is evident that the slab was placed here in his lifetime, and there may have been figures to add to the 'M.D.' Arms: a conventional mountain. A fine border round the slab.

Pavement slab: Sub-Deacon Vasino Gamberoni Casalin Montista († 1501), confidential servant to Innocent VIII. and Alexander VI. It is very badly worn all over, but was never a good work.

In the Cortile.—Relief slab: Nicolas Heremita († 1449), of Forca Palena. The Church of the Eremitani of S. Onofrio of Egypt was built by Nicolas in 1450. The slab is one of the best in Rome. Nicolas lies in the hood and long cloak of the Order, his hands crossed. The face is very beautiful, and the hands are wrought with unusual care and skill. The lettering is also fine.

S. Paolo fuori Le Mura.—(*a*) Tabernacle over the high-altar, by Arnolfo di Cambio (see p. 27).

(*b*) Statue of Boniface IX. († 1404). Magister Paulus (*sacristy*).

(*c*) Altar dedicated by Guglielmo de Pereriis. Last ten years of fifteenth century (*chapel on upper story*).

(*d*) Cloisters by Magister Petrus (Vassallettus), begun in 1193 under Card. Pietro di Capua, and finished under Abbot Giovanni d' Ardea, 1241. An inscription bears the words 'MAGISTER PETRUS FECIT HOC OPUS' (see also the cloisters of S. Giovanni in Laterano, and p. 19).

S. PIETRO IN MONTORIO.—1. Incised slab (*in pavement*): The Christian name in the top line obliterated—'De FUSCIS de Berta Causidicus' († 1317). The lawyer lies in his robe, with close-fitting buttoned sleeves from the elbow; a close-fitting berretta, with flaps turned down; a collar or cape, with the zigzag slashing seen in the Valla (Lateran) and other Roman tombs. This is one of the best early fourteenth-century incised slabs in Rome. The lines are firm and expressive, and the work throughout is well carried out. The feet alone betray the convention of the day.

2. Crypt below the Tempietto of Bramante in the cortile. Over the altar, angels attributed to Giovanni Dalmata.

S. PIETRO IN VATICANO (BASILICA OF ST. PETER).—(*a*) Bronze door by Antonio Averlino (Filaréte), 1439-1445.

(*b*) Cappella del Sacramento, Sixtus IV. (Francesco della Rovere) († 1484), son of Leonardo della Rovere of Albezzola, near Savona, and of his wife, Lucchina Muglione, or Monleone. His parents during an outbreak of plague had migrated to Celle, where Sixtus was born. According to some writers, the father was a shipmaster; according to

others, a fisherman ; while others, again, declare him to have been of good family, related to the Piedmontese Della Rovere, Lords of Vinovo. It seems probable, however, that the branch of the family to which Francesco belonged were at that time not in a high position, but were engaged in trade in various forms at Albezzola. Francesco owed his education to Giovanni Pinarolo, a Minorite, and presently entered that Order, of which he was afterwards to become General. He was taught first at the high school of Chieri, afterwards at Pavia, Bologna, and Padua. He became lecturer at Padua, Bologna, Pavia, Siena, Perugia, Florence. He took a leading part in the discussion before Pius II. concerning the Holy Blood. He became Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli under Paul II., September 18, 1467, and, at the age of fifty-seven, in 1471 was elected Pope.

He built the Ponte Sisto, Vatican Library, Sistine Chapel, Sta. Maria della Pace ; rebuilt Sta. Maria del Popolo, with the adjacent Augustinian monastery, SS. Apostoli, the Church (but not the Palace) of S. Pietro in Vincoli, etc. He greatly improved the city by widening its streets, especially in the Campo Marzio. He commissioned the great series of frescoes by Tuscan painters on the side-walls of the Sistine Chapel, and those of the Vatican library by the brothers Ghirlandai. His portrait, with that of his nephews, Pietro Riario and Giuliano della Rovere by Melozzo da Forli, is one of the treasures of the Vatican picture-gallery. There is also a fine and expressive medal of this Pope. For further particulars of the life, see pp. 150-153.

The tomb by Antonio Pollaiuolo was finished in 1493. It consists of a platform raised several feet above the floor, on the surface of which lies the recumbent figure in bronze of Sixtus. Around the edge of this surface are bronze reliefs of the Virtues, and around the sides of the platform bronze reliefs of the Liberal Arts (see p. 157). The tomb was commissioned by Card. Giuliano della Rovere (Julius II.).

(*c*) Innocent VIII., Gianbattista Cibò († 1492) (*left aisle, high up on piers, near Cappella dei Canonici*), a Genoese of middle rank, whose father, Arano Cibò, had served Alfonso of Naples, and had by him been made Viceroy of Sicily, and by Callixtus III., Senator of Rome (1455). Gianbattista Cibò himself was a man of genial manners, good-natured, easygoing, and of handsome appearance. His youth had been that of a free liver. He studied at Padua, went to Rome, and entered the service of Card. Calandrini. In 1467 Paul II. made him Bishop of Savona. In 1472 Sixtus IV. made him Bishop of Molfetta. He became Datary, Cardinal of Sta. Balbina (1473), and Legate *a latere* to Matthius Corvinas of Hungary, in which latter position he effected nothing. He was left as Card.-Vicar and Governor of Rome when Sixtus retired to Campagnano because of the plague. He was also Governor of the city of Siena. On August 29, 1484, he was elected Pope in a Conclave in which the rival parties of Cibò and Borgia openly employed bribery. Card. Giuliano dei Medici worked vigorously on behalf of Card. Cibò, winning over the votes of Orsini, Raffaello Riario and Ascanio Sforza. Giovanni di Aragona

followed, and finally Borgia himself accepted the half-loaf, and, abandoning his hopes till a later opportunity, joined the Cibò party. By August 29 Cibò's election had been made safe. He was crowned outside the basilica by Card. Piccolomini (Pius III.). Sixteen noblemen upheld the canopy, and we are told how the new Pope rode a white horse, with gold trappings, in the procession to the Lateran. The reign which had been thus begun in corruption was marked throughout by the same character, the sale of offices reaching a point hitherto unheard of. The Pope was of kindly disposition and was no murderer; but he was without moral force, and made little attempt beyond burning, in the Campo dei Fiori, two Papal *bullarii* who had forged Papal decrees for sale, to check the corruption which was spreading in the Curia itself. He married his son Franceschetto to Maddalena, daughter of Lorenzo dei Medici, and his granddaughter Battistina to Luigi of Aragon. In his reign the Sultan Bajazet sent as a present 'the sacred spear-head,' for which the chapel in St. Peter's was built. He restored or completed the Castle of S. Angelo, Sta. Maria della Pace, Sta. Maria in Via Lata, S. Agostino, S. Stefano in Monte Celio, Sta. Croce; built the Belvedere of the Vatican, Villa Magliano, etc. He died in the year in which Columbus set sail for America—1492.

The tomb by Antonio Pollaiuolo was the last Papal monument to be erected in the old basilica before its destruction by Bramante, and, with its companion the tomb of Sixtus, has alone survived of all Papal tombs within the actual church, the fragments of earlier tombs

Fig. 81.—PANDOLFO D'ANGUILLARA (S. Francesco a Ripa).

Fig. 82.—FRANCESCO D'ANGUILLARA (S. Francesco a Ripa).

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being massed in the Grotte, or crypts. It was commissioned by Cardinal Lorenzo Cibò, and was completed in the year 1498, very shortly before Antonio Pollaiuolo's death. Pietro Pollaiuolo assisted in the work. The tomb as we now see it does not represent the original design, the cumbrous cornice being an insertion, while the recumbent figure of Innocent was originally in the upper, not in the lower, portion. It is the first occasion on which in a Papal tomb the dead man is represented as a living figure. The tomb, indeed, marks the turning-point in monumental sculpture, after which the mind of the onlooker is to be directed rather to the activity of life than to the stillness of death. Pollaiuolo does not, however, wholly abandon the latter thought, and he represents the Pontiff a second time,[1] lying upon the bier. Viewed merely technically, the work takes high rank among the achievements of the fifteenth century Renascence. The four Virtues at the side of the seated figure are of fine workmanship, and are amongst the very best productions in bronze by Pollaiuolo (see p. 161).

(*d*) Cappella della Pietà. Fragments,

(*e*) Cappella della Pietà (*1st right*). Pieta by Michelangelo Buonarroti made in 1497 for Card. Grolaye; formerly in the Chapel of the Madonna della Febbre.

(*f*) Nave (*4th pier to the right*). Bronze seated statue of St. Peter, formerly believed to be a Christian statue of the fifth century, or a work of late Roman times adapted as St. Peter, but more recently accepted by

[1] This double method of representation was already well known in Northern Gothic monuments.

A. Venturi and others as an original work by Arnolfo di Cambio (see 'L'Arte Italiana,' A. Venturi, vol. iv., p. 113).

Sagre Grotte Vaticane[1] (Crypt of St. Peter's).—Nicolas III., Giovanni Gaetano Orsini († 1289) (*corridor ; Grotte Nuove*), son of Matthæus Rubeus (Matteo Rosso), Senator of Rome in the days of Frederic II., and of Perna Gaetani. Became General of the Order of Minorites (Franciscans). Made Cardinal of S. Niccolò in Carcere by Innocent IV. ; he wore purple under eight successive Popes, and voted in seven Conclaves. Became Pope on December 26, 1277. As a Roman noble, anxious to restore the prestige of the ancient city, he was a foe to the House of Anjou and in friendly relations with Rudolf of Hapsburg, from whom he obtained the ratification of the gift of the Countess Matilda and the cession of the Romagna to the States of the Church. Latino Malabranca (buried in the Minerva) was the first Legate of the Romagna. He next deprived Charles I. of Anjou of his Vicariate of Tuscany, and compelled him to resign his post as Senator of Rome. He then gave to the city (July 18, 1278) its constitution, tracing the Papal claim over Rome to the days of Constantine, and forbidding in

[1] The Nuove e Vecchie Grotte Vaticane, or crypts of the ancient Basilica of St. Peter's, contain the surviving fragments of the eighty-seven tombs said to have been dismantled by Bramante when the older building was taken down to give place to the new St. Peter's. In many cases great uncertainty prevails, and the relics of some one tomb are often widely scattered. The difficulty of seeing and of studying the tombs in their present position and in their present circumstances is very great, and, therefore, in many cases the author desires that the opinions expressed may be considered as tentative.

Fig. 83.—ANTONIO RIDO (Sta. Francesca Romana).

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future any foreign potentate whatever to become Senator of Rome, or any other person to hold the said office save for one year and by permission of the Pope. The constitution of Nicolas III. opened a new chapter in the relations between the Popes and the city of Rome. Matteo Rosso Orsini, the brother of Nicolas III. (buried with Card. Latino Malabranca, another nephew of Nicolas III., in the Minerva), was the first to hold office as Senator under the new régime (1278). His successor, in 1279, was Pandolfo Savelli (buried in Araceli). A lover of splendour, inheriting all the instincts of a Roman noble, Nicolas III. had framed mighty schemes of advancement for his own nephews, who were destined by him to occupy the thrones of a newly-distributed Italy. His death in 1280 ended the dream. He is placed by Dante in the Inferno, among the Simonists:

> 'E veramente fui figliuol dell' Orsa
> Cupido si per avanzar li orsatti
> Che su l' avere.'
>
> ('Inferno,' XIX.)

The fragment which survives from the resting-place of this masterful Pope is in the same corridor as the tomb of Paul II., and consists of a relief of Nicolas and of Cardinal Gaetano Orsini kneeling before the Madonna.

(*b*) Boniface VIII., Benedetto Gaetani († 1303), son of Loffrede Gaetani, of ancient family at Anagni, which, possibly of Lombard or German origin, seems to have obtained its family name from Gaeta; nephew of Alexander IV. (Rinaldo dei Conti) on his mother's side; became Apostolic Notary under Nicolas III.; Canon of

Todi; Cardinal of S. Martino under Martin IV.; Papal Legate on many occasions; a man of education and learning, profoundly read in canonical and civil law; of great personal attraction; took part in the Conclave which elected the poor hermit Pietro Murrone as Celestine V. On the abdication of Celestine, Benedetto Gaetani was elected Pope, as Boniface VIII. (January, 1295). At his coronation Charles II. of Anjou, King of Naples, and Charles Martel, King of France, in fact, though not in title, walked on either side of his white palfrey, holding the bridle, and subsequently waited at the Papal table.[1] The new Pope imprisoned Celestine in the Castle of Fumone, where he died on May 19, 1296. Boniface espoused the cause of Charles II. of Anjou against the descendants of Manfred. His quarrel with the Colonna, who resented his interference in their private feuds, ended in the Pope excommunicating the entire family (save the renegade Landolfo), and calling upon Christendom to unite in a crusade against them. The unhappy Colonna yielded Nepi, Colonna, Zagarolo to the armies of the Pope, and, lastly, under treaty in 1298, their beautiful city and stronghold of Palestrina (Præneste) itself. Boniface in his fury swept every house in it to the ground, and literally, not figuratively, ploughed it and sowed it with salt. The charge against the Pope of perjury, strongly maintained by the Colonna, was denied by his family, the Gaetani, but was accepted by Dante and by S. Antonino. The belief in it was certainly general in his lifetime, and

[1] The same Kings, the year before, had walked beside Celestine V., who rode upon an ass.

contributed largely to his ultimate piteous downfall. For though the Gaetani grew strong through it, the Roman barons knew that the fate of the Colonna to-day might be theirs to-morrow. At Anagni itself, the stronghold of the Gaetani, the blow was to fall. By a *coup de main* the Pope was seized, roughly handled, imprisoned. His death-bed, a year later, round which so many terrible pictures grew into shape, ended the restless life on October 11, 1303 (see pp. 29, 30). Dante, his living cotemporary, has placed Boniface in the Inferno by anticipation, both for his simony and for his dealing with Celestine V. He makes Nicolas III. (also in the Inferno as a Simonist) mistake him, Dante, for Boniface, who in reality is still alive:

> 'Sei tu si tosto di quell' aver sazio
> Per lo qual non temesti torre a inganno
> La bella Donna,[1] e di poi farne strazio.'
>
> ('Inferno,' XIX. 53.)

The fragments of the tomb consist of the sarcophagus, with the dead Pope outstretched upon it, and perhaps a figure of an angel in another portion of the crypt. The relationship of the tomb to the art of the Cosmati and Arnolfo di Cambio is discussed at pp. 31, 32. It should be noticed that the Pope wears the tiara with two crowns—the first known example of this usage. The tomb was opened in 1605, when they found the body 'adhuc integrum et sacris vestibus ornatum.'

[1] 'La bella Donna' is the church which Dante makes Boniface seize from Celestine. In another canto he places Guido da Montefeltro in the Inferno, as the adviser of Boniface's dealings at Palestrina.

(*c*) Slab: Pietro Hispani, Bp. of Sabina († 1311); buried at the feet of his master, Boniface VIII., as the inscription records. This Bishop, together with Niccolà Boccasino, Bishop of Ostia, courageously stood by Boniface VIII. at Anagni in the face of his enemies when others deserted him. He was employed to arrange the unhappy marriage between Edward II. of England, and Isabella, daughter of Philippe le Bel of France. He died at Avignon.

The slab is all but obliterated, and is merely noticed here as a record of two interesting episodes. The arms—three bars—still visible, are twice repeated. On June 18, 1606, this tomb was opened, and a ring, almost all that had survived, was taken to the Vatican.

(*d*) Slab-tomb: Card. Rainaldo Orsini († 1374), Protonotary Apostolic; Archdeacon of Liége; Bp. of Perugia; Card.-Deacon of S. Adriano; Archpriest of Vatican. Together with Tebaldeschi and two other Cardinals, he received the confession of faith made by Emperor John Palæologus in S. Spirito (1369). He was at the Conclaves which elected Innocent VI., Urban V., Gregory XI. During the days of Cola di Rienzi he was a conspicuous figure in Rome. He must not, of course, be confused with Archbp. Rainaldo Orsini, who was in S. Angelo in 1503. The Cardinal died at Avignon, and his bones were transferred to Rome.

The slab, half concealed in Dionigi's day (see Plate XX. of his book) is now fully visible, but the date (1374) which Grimaldi records is obliterated.

The Cardinal lies at full length, his hands joined. It is simple work, but expressive and interesting. Gothic

character. Orsini arms: cinquefoil over three bends. This tomb, like so many more, was inspected in the days of Paul V., and the remains were removed from under this slab to the tomb of the Orsini Pope, Nicolas III.

(*e*) Slab-tomb: Card. Francesco Tebaldeschi († 1378), a Roman born in the Rione Parione; Prior of S. Pietro in Vincoli; Dean of the Vatican Canons; Card. of Sta. Sabina. During the Papacy of Urban VI. he was one of the four Cardinals who received, in 1369, the confession of faith made by John Palæologus, Emperor of the East in S. Spirito. Under Gregory XI. became Legate of the Marittima, Sabina, Rome, the Patrimony, and Spoleto. But the incident of his life which stands out among all others was that which connects his name with the dramatic election of Urban VI. at the Conclave in the Vatican (April 7, 8, 1378). In spite of barricades and guards, the people burst in upon the Conclave, demanding the election of a Roman. The Cardinals had already elected Prignani, a Neapolitan. In their terror, with the object of gaining time, they resorted to the device of placing the unwilling Tebaldeschi on the Papal chair in robes and mitre, while they themselves escaped. They had bidden the people 'go to S. Pietro.' The name by which Tebaldeschi was known was the 'Cardinal S. Pietro.' The populace at once betook themselves to the customary barbarism of sacking the palace of the elected Cardinal, Tebaldeschi, as they deemed. It was late that day before the people found themselves without a Roman Pope, and Tebaldeschi found himself without a palace. That same year he was laid to rest in St. Peter's.

The slab shows the Cardinal lying at length, his head on a pillow, beneath a Gothic canopy, with twisted columns. He wears a mitre and a long pallium, and his hands are crossed. The inscription is in Gothic letter.

(*f*) Bust of Benedict XII., Jacques Fournier († 1342), who died and was buried at Avignon, by Paolo da Siena.

(*g*) Urban VI., Bartolommeo Prignani († 1389), of Naples ; Archbishop of Bari ; Vice-Chancellor, but never a Cardinal. Elected Pope at the Conclave held in the Vatican, April 7, 1378, under circumstances of violent excitement, both without and within, the Roman populace clamouring for an Italian Pope outside the hall of Conclave, which was guarded by armed soldiery. Eventually the populace burst through, but were deluded by the presentation of the aged Roman, Cardinal Tebaldeschi, to them as the new Pope. When the truth was known, the Cardinals had much ado to escape the fury of the mob. Urban began his Papacy by the unexpected step of a fierce address of reproach to the College of Cardinals for the manner of their lives. A strong ultramontane party within the Curia was formed by the French Cardinals, which, presently growing in strength, pronounced Urban's election void, since it was obtained under compulsion and the influence of fear, and they put forward Robert of Geneva (called Clement VII.) as Pope. Thus commenced the great schism which divided the Church till the days of Martin V. Urban created twenty new Cardinals to outweigh the defection of his original Curia. Civil war followed. The mercenaries of Pope and Antipope swept

the Campagna, but at Marino the Condottiere of Urban, Count Alberigo, succeeded with his Veronese company in entrapping and putting to the sword almost the entire band of Clement's Breton mercenaries. The Castle of S. Angelo then yielded to Urban, who entered it barefoot, in token of humility. The infatuation of Urban led him to plunge into the affairs of Naples, and at the head of an army commanded by John Hawkwood he entered the kingdom of Naples upon an errand which was doomed to be associated with many a tragedy—the strangling of Queen Joanna by Charles of Durazzo, the murder of Charles of Durazzo himself, the terrible handling at Nocera of the six Cardinals by Urban (see Card. Adam Easton, p. 44), and many a minor misery resulting from the war. The Pope died four years later than the tragedy of Nocera —October 15, 1389. He had allowed his rude, yet once splendid, energy to degenerate at last too often into mere ferocity. Yet he had at least been free from faults that disfigure other reigns—simony, avarice, nepotism. And his desire for reform in the early part of his reign, ill controlled and without method, was yet sincere. His reign witnessed the last years of the life of Caterina Benincasa (St. Catherine of Siena), who passed as a messenger of peace over the bloodstained battle-ground that lay between Pope and Antipope. Few nobler figures than that of this brave and pure-hearted Tuscan maiden appear on the scene of the Middle Ages. Her influence upon the fierce spirits of the combatants in the Great Schism was, without question, great. She lies beneath the high-altar in Sta. Maria sopra Minerva, in whose convent her noble life was ended. The

Pope himself was laid in St. Peter's, 'with few to weep for him,' says Platina.

The sarcophagus, with the recumbent figure above—all that is left of the tomb—has upon the face a relief of the Pope kneeling before St. Peter to receive the keys—the work of an unknown *marmorarius*. The inscription, which gives praise to his courage and to his freedom from simony, asserts that he died of poison.

The figure is of very rude workmanship. It lies somewhat sideways, wearing a mitre with a single tiara, whereas in the relief on the sarcophagus front there are two. The Pope has one ring. Dionigi mentions that in his own time the suspicion existed that the figure did not belong to the tomb. The front of the sarcophagus is divided into three panels. The two side panels have each an eagle (the Prignani arms) wearing a tiara, while the central panel has a relief of the Pope, in double tiara, receiving the keys from St. Peter, in evident assertion of the claim of Urban, so much denied in his lifetime, to the absolute title of Pope. At either end of the sarcophagus an angel holds a lighted candle. The tomb is interesting, but its artistic value is not great. It is the work of a Roman *marmorarius* at the end of the Avignon depression. It was found 'in Cænobio ferratæ cryptæ,' and was formerly believed to be Benedict IX.

(*h*) Slab : Mafiolus de Lampugnano († 1396), a Milanese ; made Bp. of Ploczko, in Poland, by Boniface IX. The Polish nobles refused to accept him, and he never entered upon his bishopric. The Pope presently appointed 'Jacobus Corskevius,' a Polish knight, in his stead, and Mafiolus disappears from history.

The slab, already much worn by traffic in Dionigi's day, is simple and good. The Bishop lies with hands crossed, wearing a pallium and mitre. There is no ornament whatever on his vestments.

(*i*) Innocent VII. († 1406), Cosimo Migliorati, born at Sulmona, in the Abruzzi, and said to have been of lowly birth; became Chancellor of Capua, and studied law under Giovanni da Lignano, a famous doctor of Bologna. Sent by the Commune of Bologna to Urban VI., he was retained in his service as Auditor of the Rota, and *Chierico* of the Camera, and was then sent to England to collect the revenues of the Church. After his return, he became Bp. of Bologna in 1386, and was transferred in the following year, as Archbishop, to Ravenna (there is a doubt here). He is said to have failed to obtain possession, owing to the hostility of Guido da Polenta, Lord of Ravenna, who favoured the Antipope. Becoming Treasurer, Vice-Chancellor, etc., he obtained the purple, under Boniface IX., as Card. of Sta. Croce in Gerusalemme, and in 1404 became Pope. His tenure of two years was marked by conflict with the Roman people, to whom he granted a charter by which they once more became possessed of the Capitol and regained the freedom lost to them under Boniface. But ill blood continued. The Romans bore their success with something of arrogance. One day a deputation of fourteen chief citizens was returning from the Vatican, where the interview had been angry. As they passed S. Spirito they were stopped by the Pope's nephew and his servants, who dragged eleven of them into the hospital, murdered them, and flung their

bodies into the Piazza. Rome rose in fury. The Pope and the nephew rode for their lives to Viterbo, followed by the mob. They entered that city, having lost some thirty of their retainers, with the Romans hard upon their heels. The Vatican was pillaged. But, by the good offices of Card. Oddo Colonna (afterwards Martin V.) and Pietro Stefaneschi in a few months the Romans were not only reconciled to the Pope, who had been innocent of the murder, but welcomed the murderer back at the bridle of his uncle. The Pope, however, did not long survive the stress and suffering of that terrible flight. He died seven months later in Rome.

The tomb, which within fifty years had fallen into decay, was, as we learn by the inscription, restored by Nicolas V. The sarcophagus, with the figure of Innocent on the lid, alone survives. The sculpture of the figure is poor. It can be seen only by standing directly over it, and is of the nature of a slab-tomb raised on a sarcophagus. The cutting is deep, and there is much elaborate but unsatisfying ornament, especially around the head. The vestments which the Pope wears are expressed with great care, though with little feeling, and are interesting. He wears a pallium (on which Dionigi expends much learning), shoes with a cross on each, embroidered gloves, three tiaras, four rings. There is a Gothic canopy, having a scallop hood within it. The sarcophagus, like so many others in the Grotte Vaticane, was opened in 1610, and the sorry details are recorded in Dionigi.

(*j*) Card. Pietro Fonseca († 1422). He was born in Portugal, and had espoused the cause of the Antipope,

Benedict XIII., by whom he was created a Cardinal. But in 1419 he made submission to Martin V. in Florence, and, his former appointment being invalid, was made Cardinal-Deacon of S. Angelo in Pescheria. He was appointed to act as Legate to Constantinople to the Emperor Michael, with a view to the union of the Greek and Latin Churches; but having first gone to Spain to obtain help for his mission, he was taken ill and forced to abandon it. He died at Vicovaro in 1422. The Abbot Dionigi speaks of him as one who, by the saintliness of his life and the splendour of his learning, shed lustre on the Cardinal's purple. Among other works he wrote a book upon the Church of S. Lorenzo in Damaso.

The tomb 'adorned with columns' was in the basilica, and is said to have been transferred to the crypt in 1608. Nothing remains of it but the sarcophagus with the figure of Fonseca, by a Roman *marmorarius*, working still in that Gothic style which was on the eve of giving place to the earliest advances of the Renascence in Rome. The inscription is one of the latest to show the Gothic character, and follows a style of Latinity, says Dionigi sorrowfully, 'haud haud satis cultum.' Grimaldi was present when the tomb once in the south aisle of the old basilica was opened. He says there were two lions supporting columns, which in their turn carried the 'architrave,' on which the 'arca sepulchralis' rested, which held the bones. The figure, he says, 'in diaconali habitu,' lay as if asleep. Above the 'arca' rose two small columns, supporting a cuspidated gable adorned with images of saints. To-day we see on the sarcophagus coats of arms on either side of

the inscription, but no twisted columns such as we see in the Stefaneschi tomb, whose type it probably resembled. Also in the Fonseca tomb the panels are enclosed in plain frames, unenriched by ornament. The tomb, though still Gothic in its character, begins to approach the Renascence.

(*k*) Slab: Teobaldo di Rubeomonte (Rougemont) († 1429), a Frenchman, Archbishop of Besançon; one of the delegates to the Council of Constance to receive the resignation of Pope John XXIII. The inscription, much effaced, makes his activity fall within the days of Martin IV., an obvious error for Martin V.

(*l*) Card. Ardicino della Porta, the elder († 1434), of noble family of Novara. Famous for his learning and knowledge of canon and civil law. As Consistorial Advocate he served at the Council of Constance. In 1426 (May 24) Martin V. made him Card.-Deacon of SS. Cosmo e Damiano, on the same day as Henry Beaufort and Niccolò Albergati. He died in Rome, having borne a high character in his lifetime.

The tomb was originally in the basilica above, in the oratory of S. Thomas. Nothing remains but the sarcophagus with the Cardinal's figure upon it, which is probably a good deal later than the date of the Cardinal's death, and may have been set up by his nephew, Ardicino della Porta the younger, whose sarcophagus is also in the Grotte.

(*m*) Nicolas V. Tommaso Parentucelli († 1455), born at Sarzana or at Pisa; the son of Bartolommeo, a surgeon, and of Andreola, who, on her husband's death, married

Tommaso Calandrini, and was the mother of the Cardinal Filippo. Bartolommeo died when his son was seven or eight years old. The latter was educated at Bologna, and afterwards, going to Florence, became a 'Pedante' to the Albizzi and other Florentine families. Thence he returned with his small savings to Bologna, and it is said that he was so poor that Card. Niccolò Albergati, the Carthusian Bishop, found him begging for alms at the gate of the Certosa of Bologna, and, taking him to his own house, befriended him, making him his secretary, major-domo, and instructor of his relations. He remained twenty years in the service of Albergati. His immense store of knowledge made him useful to Cosimo dei Medici, for whom he arranged the collection of manuscripts which, after several vicissitudes, found its final home in the Laurentian Library. He became priest, Canon, and Bishop of Bologna, which had been held in *commendam* by Scarampo. He then became Cardinal of Sta. Susanna. It is said that Albergati had prophesied, in consequence of a dream, that Parentucelli should one day become Pope, a prophecy fulfilled at the Conclave[1] of March 4, 1447, held in the Minerva, when, to the universal surprise, the ballot resulted in his election. Card. Domenico Capranica, unable to believe in the result, insisted on the voting-papers being counted a second time.

The scholar, of feeble frame (he was a martyr to gout) and poor presence, showed himself possessed of more than ordinary quality of greatness. He was magnanimous to

[1] For an interesting description of the ceremonies of the Conclave, see Gr. VII., p. 104.

those who had opposed him, open and free of nature, simple and straightforward, and his ambition was for the increase of the Papal prestige, and not for the enrichment of his own family. His policy in this respect was open and plain for all to read, and carried out without intrigue or concealment. He aimed at making the visible splendour of the Papal city a type of the greatness of the Papacy. To this end he summoned to his aid Bernardo Rossellino and Leon Battista Alberti. The ancient Basilica of St. Peter's was to be rebuilt as the centre of the Borgo Leonino, which was to be surrounded by walls and towers —a fortress and place of safety for the Popes in troublous times. Within the walls were to be porticoes and stately buildings, libraries and halls. The death of the Pope put an end to the mighty scheme. The new basilica, from Bernardo Rossellino's designs, had not got beyond a portion of the tribune, afterwards incorporated in the later scheme of Julius II. But Nicolas had found time in his short reign to restore innumerable churches and to set on foot schemes for the repopulation of various deserted quarters of the city. For him, too, Fra Angelico painted the frescoes from the life of S. Lorenzo in the apartments of the Vatican. The reign of Nicolas V. was marked by the conspiracy of Stefano Porcaro, whose design of seizing the Pope and Cardinals on the Epiphany of 1453 would probably have succeeded but for the timely message sent from Bologna by Cardinal Bessarion. Nicolas, the sincere though not always judicious helper of all men of letters, even at times of the less worthy, left his library to S. Salvatore in Lauro, where it perished in the sack of Rome at

the hands of the troops of the Constable de Bourbon in 1527.

The tomb of this great builder and patron of arts and letters was, so far as we can judge from its fragments, strangely unworthy in its quality of its great tenant. No artist of high repute was summoned from Florence to do justice to his memory. The sarcophagus, with the rudely carved figure of Nicolas and its inscription by Mafeo Vegio, is clumsy work by a second-rate Roman *marmorarius*. The Apostles, which appear to have belonged to the tomb, now scattered in other parts of the crypt, are of similar quality. The Pope, zealous for the honour of his office, was, it would seem, careless of honour to be paid to himself personally. He evidently made no provision for his tomb; nor was anyone found who was careful that some great artist, such as Nicolas himself would have employed for his works in Rome, should provide a monument worthy of one who stands high in character amongst those who wore the tiara in the fifteenth century. The figure of the Pope, says Dionigi, wears the cap called the 'Camauro'; the alb and casula broad, in the old style; ample sleeves and pallium; gloves, rings, slippers—all that pertained to the Papal vesture of the day. Great care has been expended on these, but very little on the personality of the Pope.

(*n*) Callixtus III., Alonso Borgia († 1458), son of Don Juan Domingo Borja (Italianized as Borgia), of La Torre de Canals, in the city of Xativa, Valencia; born in Xativa, 1378; educated at the University of Lerida; became doctor and professor of civil and canon law; priest at Valencia; Canon of Lerida (at the appointment of Anti-

pope Benedict XIII.); Bishop of Valencia, secretary and adviser to King Alfonso of Naples; Card.-Priest of Quattro Coronati (May 2, 1444, under Eugenius IV.). It is said that when he was a priest at Valencia, S. Vincenzo Ferrerio had singled him out after a mission sermon in the cathedral, and prophesied that he would one day be Pope. This prophecy was fulfilled at the adjourned Conclave of April 8, 1455. At the first futile scrutinies opinion had been in favour of the chances of Domenico Capranica (buried in the Minerva) or Prospero Colonna. Finally, the views of the Cardinals seemed to be almost unanimous for Bessarion, when the Breton Cardinal (Sta. Prassede) again protested against the election of a Greek 'who had not yet been among them long enough to shave his beard.' In the new dilemma the Cardinals were glad to find a candidate in Borgia, seventy-seven years old and of feeble health. He was a man of dignified character, and free from many of the vices which disfigured his later namesake. He had little sympathy with the culture of his two predecessors, and is even said to have been reckless in his treatment of the priceless books which they had gathered in the Vatican Library, though probably his action in this matter has been exaggerated. He was, in his short reign of three years, strenuous in his endeavours to set on foot a fresh crusade; but his efforts were of small result, especially the naval expedition entrusted to Cardinal Scarampo. Meanwhile the flock of Spaniards which was now poured in upon Rome proved a fresh source of disorder and terror to the much-suffering city. Unhappily, too, Callixtus found time in his short reign to elevate several of his

relations, whose subsequent careers proved disastrous to the morals of the day. Amongst these was his nephew Rodrigo Borgia (Alexander VI.), made Cardinal in 1456. A fine medal of this Pope exists.

The sarcophagus, with the recumbent figure of the Pope, has wrongly been held to be that of Alexander VI. It is undoubtedly that of Callixtus, whose bones, together with those of Alexander (unhonoured by any tomb for three centuries), were removed and kept in a wooden chest at Sta. Maria Monserrato, where a few years back, by the care of King Alonso, they were at last placed beneath a monument. It is possible that the figure is the work of a certain Roman sculptor of some skill, whose hand has been recognized in the fragments of a Paliotto in the crypt representing four Doctors of the Church and a dead Saviour, from which circumstance the sculptor has received the name, in the absence of other identity, of 'Il Maestro dei quattro dottori.' To him also is attributed[1] a fragment in the crypt of a Bishop holding a basilica in his right hand, a broken pastoral staff in his left—a figure which may have formed part of the tomb of Callixtus. To this master also has been attributed the fine grave-slab of Rodrigo Sanctio († 1471) in the cortile of Sta. Maria Monserrato; the Virtues in the Card. Chiaves di Portogallo († 1447) in S. Giovanni in Laterano, and a figure of a Bishop in S. Onofrio.

Dionigi, in his work upon the monuments of the crypt, says that on October 19, 1605, the tomb was opened. It bore an inscription, 'Callixtus Papa III. Alexander P.P. VI.,' and they found within it a wooden chest and a leaden

[1] See Lisetta Motta Ciaccio, 'L'Arte Italiana,' 1906, p. 184.

chest with the words 'Ossa Callixti III. et Alexander VI. e gente Borgia.' Grimaldi states that the bones were privately removed on January 30, 1610, by permission of Paul V., to Sta. Maria in Monserrato, in presence of Card. Zapata and Marchese Villiena. The tomb, which had been opened was, he says, in the form of a pyramid, ornamented on both sides with marble figures of saints—Pope Callixtus (I. ?), St. Nicolas, St. Augustin, and St. Vincent (Ferrerius)—who had prophesied the future Papacy of Callixtus III. The sarcophagus was left in the crypt where we now see it. The face of the Pope is by no means lifelike portraiture, and resembles neither Callixtus nor Alexander as we know them from other sources.

(*o*) Paul II. (Pietro Barbo) († 1471), a Venetian of good family, son of Niccolò Barbo and Polissena Condulmieri, sister of Eugenius IV.; born February 26, 1418. He had been originally destined for trade, but after his uncle's elevation entered the priesthood, and in 1440, on the same day as his foe Scarampo, at the age of twenty-two, became Card. of S. Marco, which church he rebuilt at great cost, presently adding to it the Palazzo di Venezia, which had at that day no equal for its magnificence amongst the dwellings of the Cardinals. Giacomo di Pietrasanta, Giuliano da Sangallo, Meo del Caprino, and Giovanni dei Dolci (architect of the Sistine Chapel), were all employed on the palace before it was finished. Here Barbo housed his priceless collection of antique gems and jewels, and here he indulged to the full his love of splendour and good living. It is just to add that he is said to have been

PAVLVS II VENETVS PONT MAX E VETVSTA BARBORVM FAMILIA PRAECLA
RIS NATVRAE DOTIB AVVNCVLO EVGENIO IIII NON INFERIOR IVSTITIAE
PIETATIS DIVINAR QVE CAERIMONIAR CVLTOR RELIGIOSISS ECCLESIASTICAE
LIBERTATIS MAIESTATISQVE DEFENSOR CONSTANTISS PRAECIPVO PACIS SER
VANDAE STVDIO ET SINGVLARI OMNIS GENERIS MVNERVM ABSTINENTIA FOR
MIDANDA ETIAM LEGE MAGISTRATIB INDICTA CLARISS IN PRINCI
PES MVNIFICENTIA IN PAVPERES MISERICORDIA INSIGNIS PATRIO
MORE ANNONAE COPIAM VRBI DEDIT PATRIMONIVM BEATI PETRI ERRATIS POP
LOR INDVLGENTISS PARENTIS AFFECTV EMENDATTS ET CONSERVAVIT ET AVXIT
FVRENTES ARMIS HAERETICOS REPRESSIT ET QVOD PER DIFFICILEM RER TEM
POR VE CONDITIONEM EFFICI CVM DIGNITATE NON POTERAT MATVRA
CVNCTATIONE SALVBERRIME DISPOSVIT V A LIII M V D III S A VI M X D XXV

Photo *Alinari.*

FIG. 84.—PAUL II. (GROTTE VATICANE).

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liberal in his hospitality and careful for the poor of his neighbourhood.

At the Conclave of August, 1464, he was unanimously elected, and took the title of Paul II. The story goes that he had desired to be called Formosus, in allusion to the beauty of his person, of which he was always vain, but that he was dissuaded. De Tuccia declares him to have been the handsomest Pope for a century, and Platina records that it was said in Rome that he was wont to appear in public with his face painted. Paul, indeed, showed himself to be a curious mixture of weakness and of strength. Brought at once into conflict with his Cardinals, to whom he had made large promises, signing 'capitulations' limiting the power of the Pope, while they gave the Curia powers of repression, he quietly drew up a document on his own lines, which all the Cardinals save Carvajal and Alanus (Sta. Prassede) were found ready to sign. 'But,' adds a writer quaintly, 'no improvement in their behaviour followed, though the Pope granted the Curia the right of wearing a crimson berretta and a tiara of white silk damask, broidered with pearls.' Barbo's faith in the soothing power of such attractions received a rude shock, and the breach with his Cardinals was never healed. During his reign the Carnival was transferred to the Via Flaminia, which now received the name of the Corso. The starting-place was the Arch of Marcus Aurelius (Arco di Portogallo), near the Palazzo Fiano and Via della Vite, the winning-post being in the open space opposite the Palazzo di Venezia. In this reign, too, took place the pilgrimage of Frederic III. (1462), when a procession of 3,000 torches

conducted the Emperor, who, clad in a sad suit of black, as became a pilgrim, and beneath a white silk damask *baldacchino*, rode from the Piazza del Popolo to his most unpilgrim-like lodging in S. Marco. Next day the procession was resumed from S. Marco to the Vatican. In this reign, too, occurred the conspiracy, real or feigned, of Platina and his academy of humanists. Platina and some of his familiars were thrown into S. Angelo and tortured, on which occasion the poor racked humanist found a friend in the Castellan, Sanchez de Arevalo (buried in Sta. Maria Monserrato). Paul, in his consternation, forbade the study of ancient poetry, which he assumed to be at the bottom of the mischief. He had himself but small acquaintance with these sources of evil. He likewise threatened effectual measures against 'the Roman habit of spreading false reports.' These remain to be taken up to the present time. In this reign, also, came to Rome the printers, Conrad Schweinheim, Arnold Pannartz, and Ulrich Hahn. The two former, leaving Subiaco, set up their press in the Palazzo Massimi alle Colonne in 1467. Ulrich Hahn issued the 'Meditations of Cardinal Torquemada' (Turre Cremata), who is buried in the Minerva, in the same year. Paul II. died, in 1471, of apoplexy.

The tomb by Giovanni Dalmata and Mino da Fiesole is described at pp. 96, 97. Of the fragments which we now see in the crypt, the following are due to Giovanni Dalmata: The sarcophagus with the figure of the Pope, the reliefs of the Resurrection and the Creation, the figures of the Apostles St. Matthew and St. Mark, the full-relief figure of Speranza (Hope). A frieze of *putti* and garlands

belonging to the tomb, from the chisel of Dalmata, is in the Louvre, with a corresponding frieze by Mino da Fiesole. To the latter belongs the figure of Fides (Faith), with the relief of the Fall,[1] and the figures of the Apostles St. Luke and St. John. The lunette relief of the Almighty, surrounded by angels, does not appear to be directly from the chisel of either master, but seems rather to belong to a craftsman who has assimilated his style more to that of Dalmata than of Mino. The handling of the wings may be appealed to as an evidence against the hand of Mino. To the latter is generally ascribed the full-relief figure of Caritas. Recently[2] A. Venturi has advanced the view, which the author is not able to accept, that this figure, as well as the Madonna in the tomb of Pietro Riario (SS. Apostoli) is due to Bregno, temporarily under the influence of Mino da Fiesole. It is to be observed, with regard to the differences of opinion that prevail as to the authorship of these fragments, whereon such authorities as Bode, Von Tschudi, Gnoli, Venturi, Reymond, Diego Angeli, and others have written, that the evident endeavour of the sculptors to assimilate their style so as to produce a harmonious work has made the task of discrimination more difficult.

(*p*) Card. Berardo, or Eberardo Erulo or Eroli († 1479), of Narni. Ciacconius says he was born of poor parents, but others claim for him an illustrious descent. The name occurs in high offices in neighbouring towns, and the family

[1] Venturi gives this relief to Dalmata ('L'Arte Italiana,' vol. vi., p. 650, note).

[2] 'L'Arte Italiana,' vol. vi., p. 951, note.

was related to that of the Cesi in Rome. Berardo Eroli was a close friend of Nicolas V., who made him Referendario, and lodged him in the Vatican. He became Auditor of the Rota, Bp. of Spoleto, and Card.-Vicar in Rome. Callixtus III. is said to have valued him equally highly, and would have made him a Cardinal; but, according to C., Prospero Colonna and Domenico Capranica protested that the prestige of the Curia would suffer if the purple were conferred on a poor man. Pius II. took no heed of the objection, and made him Cardinal of Tre Fontane, Eroli's favourite church. He was a foe to all ostentation and the luxurious living which prevailed in the Curia. Living himself in the utmost simplicity and frugality, he was accessible to all men and a true friend to the poor. He founded a monastery at Narni, and a hospital and church at Monterosi. His friendship with S. Antonino, Archbp. of Florence, is itself a testimony to his worth. Under Sixtus IV. he became Bishop of Sabina, Legate of Umbria and Perugia, and died, at the age of seventy, in 1479.

The remains of the tomb are attributed to Giovanni Dalmata. The sarcophagus is plain, with the coat of arms of the Cardinal—three leaves—a Cardinal's hat above it, in the centre. Above reposes the figure of Eroli in his Bishop's robes, with jewelled mitre, his hands crossed. The sleeves, collar, and other parts of the vestment are richly incised. The inscription tells us that the monument was erected by Eroli's nephew, Constantinus, Bp. of Spoleto, and Dionigi adds that it was 'haud ignobile Pario ex marmore.'

(*q*) Card. Ardicino della Porta the younger († 1493), nephew of his namesake; Vicar-General under Paul II.; Archbp. of Florence. He had the courage, at risk of his life, to publish Paul II.'s interdict of the Florentines. Under Sixtus IV. he acted as Datary, and as Legate to Federigo di Montefeltro; and as Governor of Umbria and the Marches he succeeded in pacifying Perugia, Norcia, Todi, Terni, and Città di Castello. His success led to his employment as intercessor between Matthias Corvinus of Hungary and Frederic III. Innocent VIII. made him Cardinal of S. Giovanni e Paolo. In the early days of his cardinalship he seems to have formed the resolution to throw off the surroundings which distressed him greatly and were so little to his taste, and at length made his escape from Rome at night (whether with or without the knowledge of the Pope is uncertain), and made his way to the Camaldolesi Convent, or, as others say, Monte Oliveto. The act was strongly resented by his brother Cardinals, and he was persuaded to return. He did not long survive, and died, at the age of fifty-nine, in 1493—a man of high worth and of useful life.

The sarcophagus, which is placed near that of his uncle, is all that remains of the tomb. It is of the type which prevailed in Rome in the last decade of the fifteenth century, and seems to belong to the later productions of Bregno's workshop. It rests upon lion's paws, which end above in acanthus leaves. The middle portion of the sarcophagus is concealed by the flat label which bears the inscription, and at either end is seen the end of a festoon with a fillet, cherub heads, a quiver, etc., which serve to fill the empty spaces.

(*r*) Alexander VI. († 1503) (Roderigo Lancol [Lenzoli]), sister's son to Callixtus III., from whom he took the name of Borgia, was born at Valencia, of whose cathedral he became treasurer. Stella says he was educated by his uncle, and had a good knowledge of letters, with a penetrating intellect. On September 18, 1456, he was made (beginning with the first year of his uncle's Papacy) Card. of S. Niccolò in Carcere, Vice-Chancellor, Archdeacon, General of the Papal Army, Archpriest of Sta. Maria Maggiore, Archbishop of Valencia, Bp. of Cartagena, Legate of the Marches, Castille, and Portugal, where Ammanati speaks very ill of his manners and conduct. Called to Rome, he was nearly lost at sea, through a storm in which seventy-five of his company, including three Bishops, perished. He also lost 30,000 scudi. He was Legate to Ferdinand of Sicily, and on the occasion of his wedding placed the crown on the head of the bride. At the age of twenty-two he was Abbot of Subiaco, where he built the 'Rocca.' In Rome he built, near the Campo dei Fiori, the Borgia Palace (Cesarini Sforza), now much cut into by the Corso Vittore Emmanuele. He soon became known in Rome for his love of splendour and the looseness of his morals. He was one of the Cardinals who accompanied Pius II. to Ancona in the abortive crusade, and there, says Ammanati, incurred the Pope's displeasure for the looseness of his behaviour. He was a strong candidate at the Conclave which elected Innocent VIII. (1484), but at the next Conclave, in 1492, he made his election safe by bribery on a very large scale. Ascanio Sforza, Cardinals Orsini, Colonna, Savelli, Pallavicini, Sclafenati, Domenico

della Rovere, Raffaele Riario, and Bishop Michiele, were chief recipients, and five of these lived to rue the day.[1] Alexander had children by more than one mother, but it was on his family by Giovanna ('Vanozza') dei Catanei, a married woman of Rome, that Alexander bestowed his chief care. These were Juan, Duke of Gandia; Card. Cæsar, Duke of Valentino; Lucrezia; Joffré. It was for these that Borgia entered upon that career of crime and intrigue which have made his Papacy a byword. He designed to carve out of the States of Italy principalities for all the sons. His scheme had already gone far towards success when it met its first blow in the murder of Gandia (June 14, 1497), whose body was found in the Tiber at the Ripetta, near the present Ponte Cavour. The Pope at first suspected, or affected to suspect, his enemy Ascanio Sforza. Others then and since attributed the crime to the Orsini. Presently Rome settled down to the assurance, as it generally did, that Cæsar was the criminal. The author takes the view that it was probably the outcome of one of Gandia's amours. The mystery has never been, and never can be, solved. Guilty or not guilty, Cæsar was left alone to reap the fruits of the Borgia schemes. He, with the aid of the Pope, carried them forward till they seemed to hold Italy in the hollow of their hands. Everything succeeded with them. Early in 1503 came Cæsar's master-stroke of treachery at Sinigaglia, by which he seemed to have swept

[1] The rewards given to the various Cardinals are given by Gr. and L.P. But though there is no doubt of these payments, it does not follow that in all cases the reward followed on the promise of a vote. In one or two cases it is improbable.

his chief enemies from his path. Alexander was not behindhand in Rome itself. In February, Card. Orsini died in S. Angelo—one of S. Angelo's 'natural deaths.' Archbishop Rinaldo Orsini (see S. Salvatore) lay there at about the same time.[1] In April the wealthy Card. Giovanni Michele (see S. Marcello) died there, 'of a certain white powder,' and before the grave had closed over him his wealth had been counted out by Alexander. The Card. Sta. Croce was the next victim. It went well with the Pope and his son that summer. The prize seemed already won when Death put his hand across the scheme. Early that August the Pope and Cæsar supped in the Vigna near the Porta Angelica, with Card. Adrian of Corneto. By an adroit exchange of sweetmeats intended for Adrian, according to Sanuto—of wine, according to others—the Borgia pair took the poison intended for their host. Other versions exist of the whole story, while others, again, deny the death by poison, and attribute it to the unhealthiness of Rome in the hottest month of an unhealthy year. All that is certain is that Alexander died a week later, and Cæsar, after a hard struggle for life, rose from his sick-bed, to find the fabric of his dreams shattered like a house of cards. The body of Alexander was laid at night in a leaden case within the sarcophagus which already contained that of his uncle, Callixtus. The bones of both Popes were, in 1610, removed to Sta. Maria Monserrato, where they remained unburied in a wooden chest, until, in

[1] Rinaldo Orsini, brother of Maddalena, is said by some writers to have perished at this time in S. Angelo; but he appears to have been alive in 1510.

1881, King Alfonso of Spain caused them to be laid beneath the monument which he erected to them within the church.

S. Pietro in Vincoli.—(*a*) Card. Niccolò da Cusa (†1464), born at Cues-on-the-Moselle, whence his name. He was the son of a poor fisherman, and raised himself entirely by his own ability. He studied at Padua, and eventually became Abbot of Wurtemburg, Archdeacon of Liége, Dean of S. Florin at Constance, and Protonotary Apostolic. At the Council of Basle he took, together with Domenico Capranica, at first a strong line on the side of the Cardinals in their struggle against the unlimited power of the Pope. The Cardinals, gaining strength through the aid of the Emperor Sigismund in 1432, went so far as to impeach Eugenius IV., who, finding himself pressed on all sides, at length, on December 15, 1533, yielded to the party of reform, and for a time the Curia seemed to have obtained its object. After the transference of the Council, first to Ferrara and afterwards to Florence, a reaction set in, which came to a climax through the step taken in 1439 by the remnants of the Council of Basle, who deposed Eugenius and elected Prince Amadeus of Savoy, as Felix V. The German Cardinals, especially Cusa, recognizing the disaster of a fresh period of schism, gradually abandoned their position. Cusa has been accused of deserting his principles and 'apostatizing,' but, in view of the honest and disinterested nature of the man, it is just to believe that his change of attitude was due to a sincere conviction of the needs of the occasion. Eugenius employed him in 1441, with Carvajal, at the Diet of Maintz, and again as Legate, with Cardinals Parentucelli (Nicolas V.) and Filippo

Calandrini, to France—an occasion which taught these three men one another's worth and produced a lasting friendship. In 1450 the appointment of Cusa as Abbot of Brixen brought about a violent quarrel between the Pope (Nicolas V.) and Sigismund, Archduke of Austria, who had nominated Leonard of Wismar. Sigismund managed to seize Cusa, and released him only in exchange for certain of his fiefs. The struggle lasted many years, and was a bitter page in Cusa's life; but Pius II. succeeded in settling the question, and Cusa retained Brixen till his death. He was made Card.-Vicar of Rome during the absence of Pius II. on his crusade, in which city he lived in the simplest style, discarding the pomp and luxury which now so often marked the position of a Cardinal. He founded a hospital and a church dedicated to S. Niccolò, and endowed them with a splendid library of Greek and Latin codices, but was for himself content with a poor lodging, and left no fortune. As Legate to Frederic III., he travelled to Germany on a mule, without cortège or train. He was a sincere lover of learning, and doubtless on that account received the praise of having invited to Rome the first German printers—a claim, however, which cannot be sustained. Of the Cardinals who in that age upheld the high standard of life which was due to their position, few are more worthy of respect than Niccolò da Cusa.

There is no tomb properly so called. The Cardinal rests beneath a plain slab in the left aisle of the church, near the entrance. In the wall above is a relief of St. Peter holding the sacred chain (the relic from which

the church takes its name), with the Cardinal kneeling on the left and the Angel of Deliverance on the right. This relief, attributed by Burckhardt to the school of Paolo Romano, is now more generally accepted as the work of Andrea Bregno.

(*b*) At the side is the slab which formerly marked the spot in the pavement, just beneath the pavement, where this great and useful Cardinal rested. Its artistic value is not great. We see from it the curious gap which separated still the art of the *marmorarius* to which the slab belongs from the art of the sculptor to which the relief of St. Peter belongs. There is in it, however, as in the two slabs of the Bussi brothers close by, an evident striving after characteristic portrait. The face of Cusa is benevolent, with a good deal of *bonhomie* and character. The Roman lettering of the inscription is very fine, as befits the tomb of this single-hearted patron of learning.

(*c*) Relief slab (*on the entry wall, left of entry*): Gianandrea di Bussi (de Buxis), a Milanese, Card. of Vigevano, who came to Rome as a very poor man, and was by his literary tastes recommended to Cusa, who took him into his household. Paul II. made him Bishop of Aleria. When the German printers, coming from Subiaco, set up their printing-press in the house of Pietro and Francesco Massimi (Palazzo Massimi alle Colonne), Bussi presently became their proof corrector, and many of the works[1] printed by Conrad Schweinheim and Arnold Pannartz

[1] Cicero (1470), Quintilian (1470), Aulus Gellius (1469), Silius Italicus (1471), Pliny (1470), etc., were issued under the Bishop's supervision.

have prefaces by him. He had in his youth been a pupil of the great humanist—one of the most estimable of them—Vittorino da Feltre. His learning and his industry gained for him the office of librarian to Sixtus IV., in which post Platina succeeded him. He died in Rome in 1475.

The slab is not quite of the highest quality, though it has the merit of an evident attempt to render the character of the man whom it represents. It is a good-natured and homely face. The folds of the dress about the arms are treated in an unusual way.

(*d*) Incised slab (*near the door, in the right aisle*) : Jacopo di Bussi († 1476), a native of Vigevano, in the Milanese; brother of Bp. Gianandrea. The inscription tells us of his eminence as a scholar, and of his service in the household of Sixtus IV., but beyond this there is no record.

The slab is of very high quality. The right hand is a beautiful piece of drawing, so beautiful as to convey the impression of delicate modelling. The folds of the drapery are carefully and sympathetically wrought. Bussi is represented in a round berretta and a long civilian robe, and we learn that the slab was placed here by a third brother, Girardus Bussi. Arms: three lions, divided in pale with bars.

In this slab may be recognized the hand which carved the double slab in Sta. Maria di Monserrato (*3rd chapel, right*) of Petrus and Didacus Alemanin.

The beautiful carving of the hands is to be recognized in both. The date (1476) is the same in both cases. The

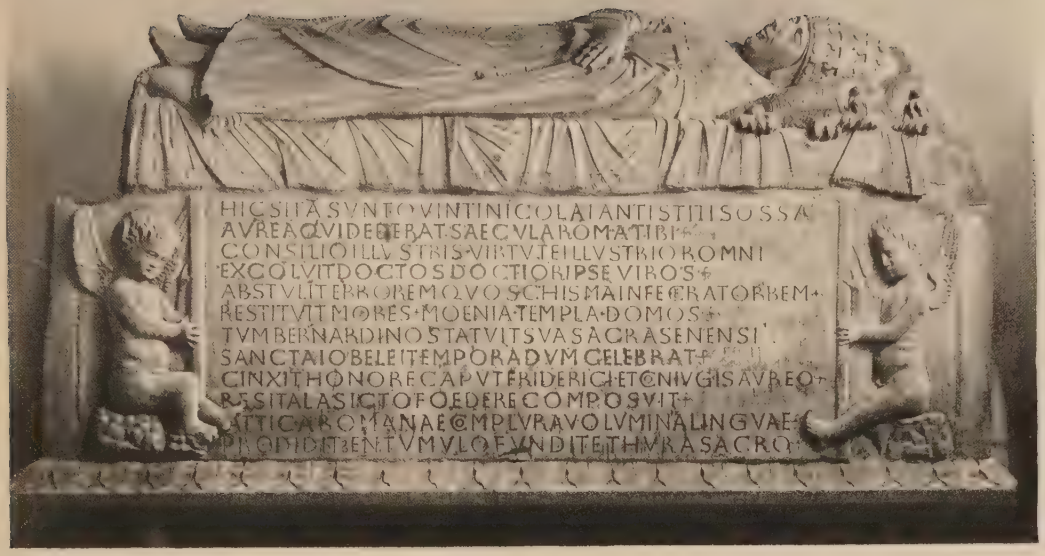
HIC SITA SVNT OVINTINICOLAI ANTISTITIS OSSA
AVREA QVI VIDERAT SAECVLA ROMA TIBI
CONSILIO ILLVSTRIS VIRTVTE ILLVSTRIOR OMNI
EXCOLVIT DOCTOS DOCTIOR IPSE VIROS
ABSTVLIT ERRORE MOVOS SCHISMA INFECERAT ORBEM
RESTITVIT MORES MOENIA TEMPLA DOMOS
TVMBERNARDINO STATVIT SVA SACRA SENENSI
SANCTA IOBELEI TEMPORA DVM CELEBRAT
CINXIT HONORE CAPVT FRIDERICI ET CONIVGIS AVREO
RESITA LASICTO FOEDERE COMPOSVIT
ATTICA ROMANAE COMPLVRA VOLVMINA LINGVAE
PRODIDIT BENTVM VLOE VNDITE THVRA SACRO

Photo *Moscioni.*

FIG. 85.—NICOLAS V. (GROTTE VATICANE).

Photo *Anderson.*

FIG. 86.—NICCOLÀ DI CUSA (S. PIETRO IN VINCOLI).

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author is inclined to see in them the sculptor who carved the Pietro Mellini of the Popolo.

(*e*) Slab (*in the corner, to right of entry*): Eustachius Juvenalis Ursinus († 1483). This member of the Orsini family studied at Paris, and became influential in France during the reign of Louis XI., on whose head he had helped to place the crown in the Cathedral of Rheims. He became his Viceroy and one of his Councillors.

It is an extremely fine slab, in good condition. Around it runs a fine honeysuckle border. The gloved hands seem to have been worked with great care as to the articulations, but they are more worn than most parts of the slab. He wears a round berretta. The face is strong, the chin being very firm and decided. It is amongst the best slab-tombs in Rome. It bears the Orsini arms.

(*f*) Tomb of Antonio Pollaiuolo († 1498) and his brother Pietro Pollaiuolo († 1501). The two brothers had been engaged on the tomb of Innocent VIII. in St. Peter's, having been summoned to Rome by Card. Lorenzo Cibò for that purpose. Antonio, who had some years previously designed and wrought the tomb of Sixtus IV., also in St. Peter's, died soon after the completion of the tomb of Innocent, and was followed to the grave at no long interval by his younger brother, Pietro. These, with Fra Angelico da Fiesole (Minerva), are among the few Florentine artists of the fifteenth century who found their rest in Rome.

The little monument, simple and unpretending, presents the medallion heads of the two brothers after the manner which had been used at intervals in Rome since its intro-

duction in the memorial of Lorenzo Colonna († 1484), probably by Luigi Capponi. The work of the Pollaiuolo monument is not of the highest order. It is, indeed, noticeable that of the great artists of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Italy, few were honoured with tombs of high artistic worth or of great costliness. It is difficult to name a painter or sculptor who lies beneath a monument carved with an art worthy of his own.

Sta. Prassede.—(*a*) Card. Anchero Pantaleone of Troyes († 1287) (*chapel of the Crucifix*). The name of this Bishop is also given as Anterus by C. He was born of 'poor or obscure parents,' says C., but was nephew of the Pope, and became Archdeacon of Laon, Canon of Bayeux, Card. of Sta. Prassede (1262). Ci. states that he took a part, with Card. Riccardo Annibaldi (Lateran), in the coronation of Charles of Anjou. He was a man of influence and of considerable wealth, which he used largely on behalf of his Church of S. Urbano. The date of his death is given by the French writer Hermant, in his History of Bayeux Diocese, as November 1, 1288. During his twenty-four or twenty-six years in the purple he had been present at the Conclaves which elected Gregory X., Innocent V., Adrian V., John XX. or XXI., Nicolas III., Martin IV., and Honorius IV.

The tomb, of which only the sarcophagus remains, with the figure of the Cardinal, was probably of the same design as that of Honorius IV. in Araceli; but the folds of the bier are cut with a depth not common in the work of the period, and the whole handling is somewhat unusual. The drapery comes up over the head and foot of the bed,

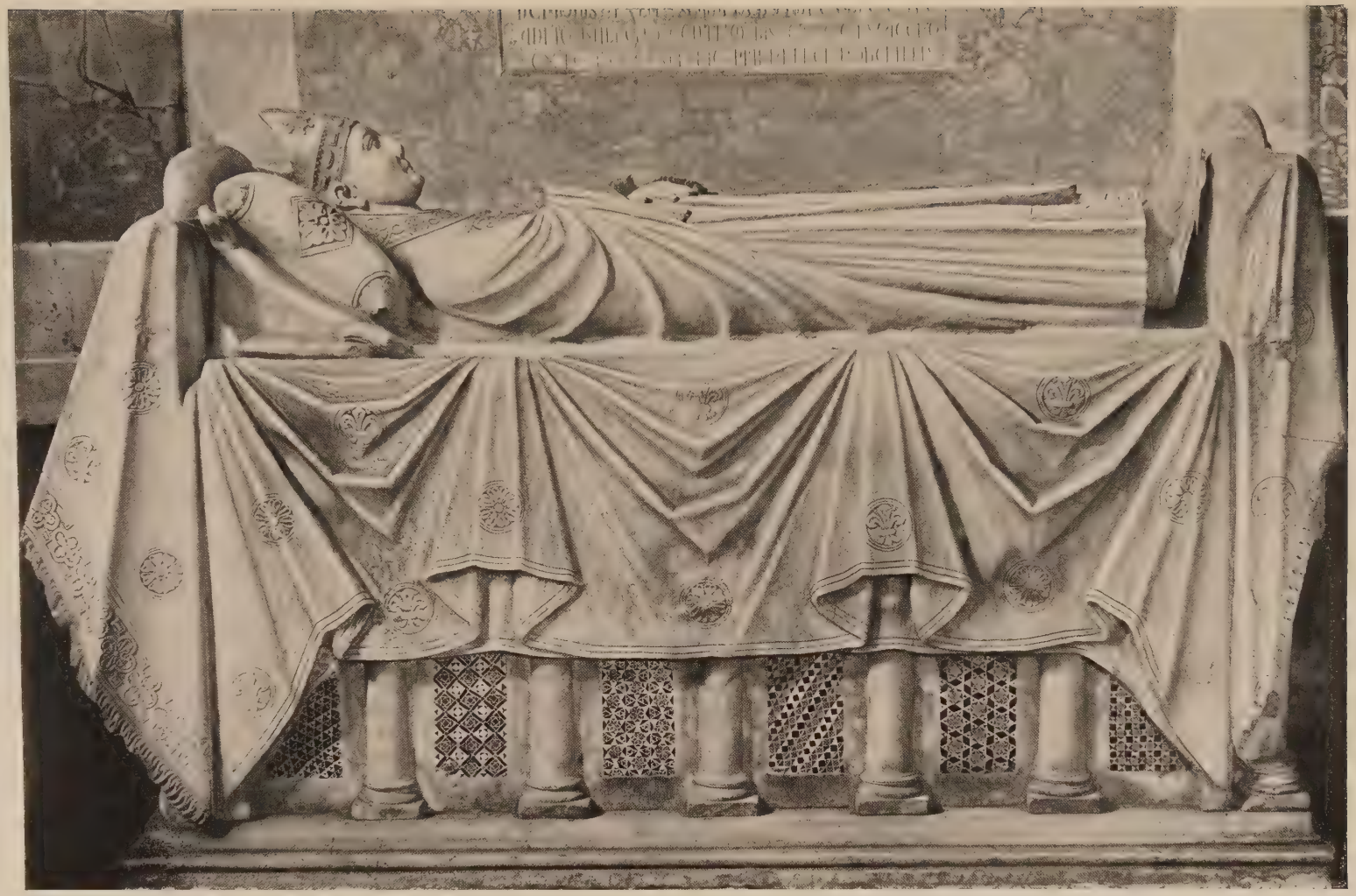

Photo *Alinari.*

FIG. 87.—ANCHERUS DE TROYES (STA. PRASSEDE).

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and the pillow, thick and heavy, throws the head forward at an angle of forty-five degrees. The folds in the drapery of the figure are deep and tube-like. The cutting, however, of the drapery in front of the bier accords with that which is seen in the Rodriguez and Acquasparta monuments, and the work may be attributed to the Cosmati workshop.[1]

(*b*) Card. Alanus Cetivus († 1474) (*right aisle, 4th chapel*), of the House of the Seigneurs de Taillebourg in Brittany. He was made Bp. of Quimper by Eugenius IV. in 1438, and of Avignon 1444. He held a Diocesan Synod at Avignon in 1431, and there rebuilt from its foundations the Episcopal Palace. He was made Card. of Sta. Prassede by Nicolas V., 1448; Protector of the Order of Predicatori (Dominican); Bp. of Dol and of Nimes; Bp. of Sabina; and in 1456 he was sent by Callixtus III. to verify the body of S. Vincenzo (Ferrerio). He is said also to have taken a leading part in the abortive naval crusade which the death of Callixtus ended. In 1463 he tried to play a peacemaker's part in the strange strife that raged between Dominicans and Franciscans concerning the blood of Christ. He served many embassies, and was a man of no small energy, both of deed and of word. It was he who, when Paul II. refused to abide by the 'capitulations' which he had before his election promised to the Cardinals, boldly told the new Pope that he had spent twenty-four years in learning how to deceive the Cardinals this once; and at the Conclave which elected Callixtus III. it was

[1] Since this book was in manuscript, Dr. Frothingham, in 'The Christian Monuments of Rome,' has assigned the tomb to Arnolfo, in which the author cannot agree.

he who, by his rough description of the young Greek who had not yet shaved his beard, barred the way for the otherwise assured election of Bessarion. On the day when the head of St. Andrew was brought into Rome with a procession headed by Pius II. and the Cardinals, all barefooted in the rain, the palaces of Alain and of Rodrigo Borgia vied with each other in the splendour of their decorations. His life had not lacked stirring vicissitudes. Louis XI. had deprived him of all his benefices in France, and he had for a time understood the uses of adversity; but his later life in Rome was lived in no small comfort and magnificence. L.P. describes him as a frivolous and pleasure-loving Prelate. The tomb follows in many particulars the type of the Lebretto (D'Albret) in Araceli, which has been generally accepted as the work of Andrea Bregno; and if that of Alain is not in the main from the chisel of that artist, it is at least a notable product of the workshop. The two saints, however, in the niches, with their formal draperies and curled heads, in which the drill has played an important part, seem to belong to a special type, and do not come from the hand of Bregno himself. The peculiar helmet ornament (see p. 90) which occurs in the Lebretto, Fornario, Sclafenato, and one or two other tombs, is here seen. The face of the sleeping Bishop is fine and characteristic portraiture, and the general work of the tomb is sufficiently good to give it a higher place than has been sometimes accorded to it.

Slabs in Pavement.—1. Incised slab (*beyond 4th column, right*): 'Istud est sepulcrū Johīs Montis opuli [Montopoli] speciarii q vos estis ego fui: q sū vos eritis .

oretis pro me peccatore . agite penetentiam.' A very finely-cut Gothic inscription, a model of good lettering. The figure is dressed as a pilgrim, in a sheepskin mantle over a long civilian robe, with tight-buttoned sleeve ; a pilgrim's hat with a scallop shell in front ; a wallet, also showing a scallop ; a staff with an iron spike in right hand ; left hand raised high. A very interesting slab, recording the recognized garb of a pilgrim. There is no attempt beyond that of giving literally all the details. The draughtsmanship is imperfect. No date. Thirteenth century.

2. Relief slab (*left of great portal*) : Giovanni Carboni († 1388), a Neapolitan soldier who died in Rome. A very high relief in full armour-plate over chain. His feet rest on two little hounds ; he wears a sword at his left, a dagger at his right, side. The work is not great sculpture. but is interesting. The face has been much worn by feet.

Priorato di Malta (Sta. Maria Aventina).—The Church of the Order of the Knights of Malta. It was restored and rebuilt by the Grand Master Card. Gianbattista Rezzonico, 1765, when many of the tombs were dismantled.

(*a*) Giovanni Diedo, Grand Master ; a Venetian, and a nephew of Eugene III. Twelfth century.

(*b*) Bartolommeo Carafa († 1405) ; Knight of Jerusalem ; Senator of Rome.

The tomb is by Magister Paulus, the sculptor of the tombs of Stefano Surdi (Sta. Balbina), Stefaneschi (Sta. Maria Trastevere), and the brothers Anguillara Orsini (S. Francesco, Capranica-di-Sutri). The latter tomb is that

which enables us to reconstruct the type of the others, originally consisting of a sarcophagus supported on columns, the figure resting above in a recess beneath a canopy, probably, as at Sutri, having an angel on either side withdrawing the curtain. The Carafa sarcophagus, which is all that remains to us, corresponds in its details with the others mentioned above. The inscription is in Gothic character, between twisted columns, on either side of which are the insignia of the dead man. The figure, in full plate-armour, with a mantle, is rude and somewhat clumsy, lacking vitality and grace. As portraiture it certainly falls far short in expressive force of the Stefaneschi figure. The front of the sarcophagus has the inscription in the centre panel, and on either side a helmet, with two angels above. There is, in spite of the defects of the tomb, a strong decorative sense evident.

(*c*) Obizzi († 1411), behind the altar.

(*d*) Sergio Seripandio († 1465), a Rhodian who died in Rome. The inscription, addressed in Latin elegiacs to the dead, describes him as having been a terror to the Moors and to the Phrygians.

He wears, as a Rhodian, a turban and long pointed beard. His hands are folded on his breast. The figure is unimpressive and dull. The drapery fails to express the body beneath The work is lifeless. It is, in fact, a poor tomb of its date, with a certain looking backward towards the style of the Trecento, and yet lacking both the naive simplicity of that period and the refined and conscious mastery of its own. The sarcophagus has on its face coats of arms, bearing each a lion rampant with a single crescent,

and, above, a cross lengthways. There are two crossed swords and a belt used as a scroll.

(*e*) Ricciardo Caracciolo († 1395), Grand Master of the Order of the Knights of Malta. He lies a little sideways on the tomb, wrapped in a long robe, a broad-faced, bearded man. The drapery is heavy and massive and rough-hewn, the folds represented by mere lumps of stone. The sarcophagus has a fluted front, with two lions' heads holding rings. At each end a figure—one with a bird on the shoulder, the other a huntsman with a bow, shading his eyes with his hands and watching a bird on a tree.

(*f*) The remains of Bp. Spinelli in an ancient Roman sarcophagus.

Sta. Sabina. — Card. Ausia Valentino di Poggio († 1483), sometimes called by the Latin equivalent De Monte ; Chapel of S. Rosario. Born in Xativa, in Valencia, of high Spanish family, to which he brought no discredit by a life which was honourable for its integrity and excellence. He became Canon of Barcelona and Cantor of the cathedral, and Councillor to the King of Aragon. In 1476 Sixtus IV. made him Bp. of Capaccio, and in 1478 Archbp. of Monreale, in Sicily, Governor of Rome, Vice-Chamberlain, and Card. of S. Vitale, which was presently changed to Sta. Sabina. He was also Bp. of Saragossa. He was employed as Legate to the Kings of Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland, in an endeavour to excite their sympathy for a crusade against the Turks, and he also was deputed to attend the Diet of Frankfurt. When Eleanora of Aragon, daughter of Ferrante of Naples, made her famous journey northwards to Ferrara to marry Ercole of Este,

Card. Ausias was, with Olivero Caraffa, selected to meet her at the third milestone of the Via Appia and conduct her into the city, where the Cardinals Giuliano della Rovere and Pietro Riario received her, and the latter entertained her in strange fashion at his palace of the S. Apostoli (see p. 104). Ausias was not only a man of high character and good life, but he was well known as a liberal helper of men of letters, to whom, in their necessity, he often proved a good angel. He was also a kindly friend and helper of the poor. He greatly enriched Sta. Sabina, and built the Chapel of S. Rosario, in which he is buried.

The monument is not of quite the first rank among those of the fifteenth century in Rome, but it has undoubtedly suffered considerably from renovation, which has, perhaps, removed more delicate surface than it now shows. But the work can hardly have been of the highest quality at any time. In design it follows the type which we have learnt to associate with the school of Bregno, but the workmanship seems to be by a hand which is not easily recognizable. A. Venturi suggests a connection with the work of Silvestro d'Aquila (Ariscola)—a view in which the present writer is unable to agree. The type of sarcophagus employed by the latter in the tombs known to be by him, or attributed to him, in and about Aquila in no case agree with this; nor is the somewhat massive ornament employed by Silvestro in evidence here, while the draperies and general rendering of the figure in the Abruzzi master's works are in every way superior to that of the Ausia. The latter, indeed, appears to be the somewhat dull work of a Roman hand, either working

in the *bottega* of Bregno or following his style. The Virtues in the four niches of the sides are of better quality than the figure or the reliefs in the recess, and are from a different chisel.

Slabs in Pavement.—1. Incised slab, with mosaic: Frater Munio Zamorensis (Fra Muñoz de Zamorra), Master of the Order of the Preaching Brothers (Dominicans) († 1300). He lies in his Dominican habit of black and white mosaic, beneath a canopy whose supports are decorated with a band of Cosmati mosaic. The lines of the canopy have been, unfortunately, recut. The Gothic lettering is the finest to be found in the church. The mosaic is probably by Jacopo de Turrita, but absolute proof is wanting.

2. Incised slab (*at the great portal*): Stefania de Isula († 1303), 'Ospita generalis ordinis prædicatorum.' A lady, natural size, wearing a coif and long mantle over a high-cut under robe and bodice. No arms nor any ornament. She holds a book in her right hand; her left hand is raised as if she were reading aloud. She belonged to the De Insula family, powerful in Rome in her day.

3. Incised slab (*centre of nave*): Frater Ildebrandus de Clusio (Chiusi), 'Ordinis prædicatorum penitentiarius.' The date as it stands would seem to be 1209, but is evidently obliterated in part, and must belong to the early fourteenth century or late thirteenth. The figure of the *frate* is fine, simple work scratched in the stone, with much feeling for the beauty of folds, but without much skill.

4. Incised slab: Dn̄a Ocilenda († 1312 ?), wife of Angelo de Manganella, and daughter of Normanno de Monte Mariæ. Grave-slab of white marble of great beauty

and interest. The figure is very tall, well and feelingly drawn, but not very skilful. She wears a hood, which conceals the hair and droops on either side the face; an under dress cut low at the neck; a long cloak descending gracefully to the feet. Her hands, primitively drawn, are crossed. It is a very charming figure. The coats of arms: left, a boat under sail, with a mountain below (Normanno de Monte), and right, the Savelli arms, showing that she was a daughter of that house. Gothic letter.

5. Incised slab: Perna Savelli († January 28, 1315), the widow of Luca Savelli (Lucæ de Sabello).

The slab (of grey marble) is of much interest. Perna Savelli wears a widow's head-dress. The dress of a noble Roman matron of the day is here to be studied to great advantage. The figure is very tall. She wears a long, straight, simple cloak, descending to the feet. The equally simple under dress, low at the throat, is seen beneath. The hands are crossed. The cutting is clear and expressive, and the drawing is admirable. The face is less pleasing than the figure, which is expressed beneath the cloak with masterly simplicity. The arms of the Savelli—two lions and a rose, with six bars beneath—are in mosaic. Magnificent Gothic letters.

6. Grave-slab: Egidius de Varnsberg († May 26, 1312), Abbot of Weiszenburg, in Alsace, who died in the street-fighting when the Emperor Henry VII. tried to force his way from the Lateran to the Vatican to be crowned King of the Romans and the Roman people barricaded the streets about the Via Papalis against him (see p. 37).

The slab has an edging of low-relief ornament, and the

inscription, in Gothic character, reads: 'Hic reg: Dominus Egidius de Varnsberch in Regno Alemaniæ Abbas quondam in Wissenburch dioc: Spasensis qui ob A MCCCXII. M Madii D XXVI.'

7. D. Egidius de Vilika († May 26, 1312), chaplain of the above, who died at his side, and is buried at his feet. It is recorded that thirty-three pounds of wax were paid to the Church of Sta. Sabina for his funeral and that of his master the Abbot. Only the inscription now remains. Possibly there was never any figured slab.

8. Gozo de Husbergen (Hausbergen) († June 17, 1312), of the retinue of Henry VII., killed in street-fighting in a later futile attempt to force a passage to the Vatican.

The slab has only the inscription and a shield, with a cinquefoil flower upon it.

The inscription runs: 'A.D. MCCCXII. die XVII. M Iunii obiit Nobilis Armiger Gozo de Husbergen de Theotonia. Cuj aia: req: in Pace. Amen.'

9. Incised slab (*right side of choir*): Domenico Pietro Leone dei Leoni († 1375). Civilian costume. A curiously-worked slab, with very deep and broad lines, rounded at the edges so as to give an elementary form of relief of a very simple kind. The face is almost modelled. Here we find a transition from graffito to low relief. Arms: a lion rampant.

10. High-relief slab (*right of choir*): Card. Ugo Gulielmus († 1455).

The slab is fine, but not of the finest, ornament being so lavished on every portion of the work as to destroy the effect. It is a valuable object-lesson, which should be

compared with the simple, though unskilled, figures of the early fourteenth century in this church. There is a shell-shaped canopy above the head.

11. Relief slab (*choir*): Beunoleto di Hugo, nephew of Card. Guillermi († 1468). Placed here by Giorgio di Guillermi. The figure, of great length, is well preserved. The arms: three stars, above the head of a lion.

12. Relief slab (*right side of choir*): Antonio Ferracuti da Majorca († 1497), a civilian. 'Decretorum doctor ac Contradictarum Procurator.' The coats of arms on either side of the head: left, three spear-heads; right, an hour-glass. A slab of no great value.

Sta. Saba in Aventino.—Cosmatesque ornament of the lunette above the portal, by Maestro Jacopo di Lorenzo (Jacobus Laurentii; see p. 24).

S. Salvatore in Lauro.—(*a*) Pope Eugenius IV. (Gabriele Condulmer) († 1447) of Venice, son of a sister of Gregory XII., and uncle, through his sister, of Paul II. (Pietro Barbo); Monk in the Convent of S. Giorgio in Alga, Venice, which in his later life he greatly enriched and benefited. He became, under his uncle, Bp. of Siena and Card. of S. Clemente. Martin IV., valuing the vigour of his character, made him Legate of the Marches, and the Conclave held in the Minerva at the death of that Pope unanimously elected Condulmer, who took the name of Eugenius, having before election, as did his nephew Paul II. at a later period, sworn to 'capitulations,' which were to insure certain privileges to the College of Cardinals—non-removal of the Curia from Rome, summoning of a Council, and reform in the Church.

The Pope in his first year ratified the assembling of the Council of Basle, whereat he found himself face to face with the great question which was to disturb his whole reign—the question of the relative authority of Popes and of Councils. Unhappily, Eugenius had prepared for himself an even more stormy condition of home affairs in Rome by his infatuated espousal (Platina calls it 'vesania') of the cause of the Orsini against the Colonna, to which family his predecessor had belonged. This miserable feud, which needed no encouragement from the head of the Church, led in 1434 to the dramatic flight of the Pope from Rome (see p. 59) to his quasi-exile in Florence up to 1443, and to the ferocious rule in his absence of the Cardinal-Vicars Vitelleschi and Scarampo (S. Lorenzo in Damaso). After the remnants of the Council of Basle had, in 1439, taken the extreme step of deposing the Pope, a reaction took place. Most of the German Bishops, who had been his strongest opponents, showed signs of submission, and in 1446 Eugenius signed a Concordat granting certain concessions, especially the holding of Councils at given intervals. Eugenius was now a dying man. He had lived long enough to see his triumph, both over the Cardinals and the Romans. It is said that on his deathbed he was heard to regret that he had ever left his cell in S. Giorgio in Alga. Opinions differed largely even in his own day as to the merits or demerits of this Pope. A man of handsome and commanding presence, of great courage and vigorous will, he had, perhaps owing to his early training, little knowledge of affairs, and a haste of temper which doubtless helped to bring on the sorrows of his

reign. Pius II. praises his qualities in high terms. Eugenius, himself a man of little learning, yet valued it in such men as Æneas Sylvius (Pius II.) and others. So also, himself too prone to violent measures, either on his own part or through his lieutenants, he was an enthusiastic admirer of the gentle character of S. Bernardino († 1444), of Sta. Francesca Romana († 1440), of the preacher Giovanni di Capistrano († 1456), and of Fra Angelico the painter († 1455), all of them alive during his reign, which, both for the events which mark it and for the personalities by which it is surrounded, has few equals in dramatic incident and interest. He died, like Fra Angelico, in the monastery of Sta. Maria sopra Minerva.

The tomb, like the life of its once occupant, is of the highest and most varied interest. Once in St. Peter's, it was removed to the Church of S. Salvatore, and again to the refectory, and it is quite possible that some of the difficulties which belong to the question of its authorship are the result of these vicissitudes. The older authorities, following the direct statement of the Roman poet Porcellio Pandone, attribute the tomb to Isaia da Pisa, without distinction of parts; and assuming the date of its erection to follow close upon the death of Eugenius, in 1447, they class the tomb as the first in Rome to exhibit the complete Renascence type, from which the remaining tombs of the century take their departure. But a more critical examination at once reveals the fact that the various portions of the monument are by different hands. Commencing with that which seems most assured, we may take the four Fathers of the Church in the side niches as coming from

the hand which carved the similar four figures now in the side portico of S. Agostino; and these latter almost undoubtedly once formed a portion of the tomb of S. Monika, which Pandone assigns to Isaia da Pisa. Next we may consider the recumbent figure. This has been assigned to Isaia by Venturi, Steinmann, Burger, and others. But Lisetta Ciacci[1] has identified the author of this figure with that of the figure on the tomb of Card. Chiaves di Portogallo († 1449) in the Lateran, whom she further claims as the sculptor of the Virtues in that tomb, and two more which have been inserted in the tomb of Card. Aquaviva in the Lateran, and, again, of the tabernacle in Viterbo Museum, and of some other works. She concludes that the figure on the tomb of Eugenius is not by Isaia; that it alone of all that we now see there formed part of the first tomb, and that the rest formed part of the second tomb—a *rifacimento*—when the dismembered fragments were transferred, perhaps under Paul II., and Isaia da Pisa reconstructed the monument. On this showing, the tomb as we see it, excepting the figure, would not be earlier than 1464, and could no longer claim to be the prototype of the Renascence tombs of its order, that honour belonging rather to the tomb of Chiaves in the Lateran. The author agrees that the two figures, Eugenius and Chiaves, are by one hand. The evidence for the reconstruction of the architectural portion is not, however, completely convincing. But it may be mentioned that the figure of Eugenius was evidently not

[1] On this question, see Lazzaronie Muñoz, Lisetta Ciacci, Fritz Binser, Venturi.

made for its present niche, and that it has been adapted by adding a piece of marble of a slightly different texture. The inscription is not the original by Maffeo Vegio, of which we have the full record, but a second, which was substituted when the tomb was renewed. The reliefs of the Virgin and angels belong also to the later period. The handling of the wings of the two angels shows the work of two hands.

(*b*) Ursina, mother of Rinaldo Orsini, who, when Archbishop of Florence, erected the tomb. Since his appointment dates from 1473, the tomb cannot be earlier than that year. Rinaldo Orsini was one of the deputation from Florence who, in 1479, were summoned to St. Peter's, and there, in front of the bronze gates, received from the Pope formal liberation from the interdict under which Sixtus IV. had laid the Florentines in consequence of their action after the Pazzi conspiracy. Rinaldo held office through the Papacy of Sixtus, but earned no Cardinal's hat from the enemy of Florence, nor from Alexander, the enemy of the Orsini. When Cæsar Borgia made his great stroke at Sinigaglia, Alexander at once threw Cardinal Orsini and Rinaldo into S. Angelo. The former died there twelve days later—by poison or otherwise. Rinaldo's fate is obscure, but he disappeared from active history Abbot Dionysius asserts that he was done to death in S. Angelo, but the fact that he was still alive in 1510 disposes of that statement.

The remains of the tomb, built into the wall of the refectory, are of the type of the Ammanati tomb in S. Agostino. The figure is flexible and not without

merit, from the hand of a craftsman of the school from which came the group of tombs mentioned in Chapter VII. The relief of the Virgin above the figure is noticeable for the great height of the figure. The supports of the bier are of the pattern found in the tombs above mentioned.

S. Silvestro in Capite (Church of the English Benedictines).—The few slabs that have survived the various restorations are to be found in the vestibule, affixed to the walls.

1. 'Hic requiescit corpus Pri. (Petri) Ricardusi cujus [obliterated] MCCLXXXIII.' Arms: a shield, with chevron and three stars. There is a candlestick wrought upon the front part of the dress. This a very primitive and feebly executed slab of a civilian of the period.

2. Bp. Roberto Cavalcanti, late fourteenth century. A good slab, in which the face is wrought with much simple force and a strong feeling for portraiture. The sides are bounded by twisted columns supporting a canopy.

3. 'Lucretia relicta Jacobi Andreotti sibi vivens posuit.' [The rest is cut away.] Fourteenth century. She wears widow's weeds, and the slab is interesting for its costume, but of poor workmanship.

S. Tommaso degli Inglesi.—Christopher Bainbridge († 1514); born, 1464, of a good family, from Hilton, near Appleby, Westmorland; educated at Queen's College, Oxford, which he afterwards liberally helped; LL.D. of Oxford; Prebend of South Grantham, near Salisbury; Prebend of Chardstock, of Horton, of North Kelsey, in Lincoln; Treasurer of St. Paul's (1497); Archdeacon of

Surrey (1501); Prebend of Strensall; Dean of York;[1] Dean of Windsor; Master of the Rolls; Bishop of Durham (1507); Archbishop of York (1508). He was a great favourite of Henry VIII., with whom Julius II. was anxious to be on friendly terms. In 1511, at Ravenna, Julius, during his campaign against the towns of the Marches, made Bainbridge Card. of Sta. Prassede and Legate, and immediately gave him command of a division for the attack of Ferrara. Bainbridge died in Rome in 1514, having been poisoned by his chaplain, Rinaldo da Modena, who asserted that he had been instigated to the deed by 'Silvester de Giglis' (Giles), Bp. of Worcester, the resident Ambassador of England, who regarded Bainbridge as his rival. It is said that Giles persuaded Rinaldo to retract. The latter was found dead in prison before his trial, and was said to have committed suicide. Richard Pace and John Clerk, Bainbridge's executors, wished to bring the Bp. of Worcester to trial. The latter, however, asserted that Rinaldo was a madman whom he had dismissed from his service, whose evidence was worthless, and the matter dropped. Bainbridge was said by Pace to have been a man of violent temper, and one who expressed himself with great freedom. In his defence of the interests of Henry VIII. he was outspoken and courageous. He was one of the last Cardinals to represent the English monarchy in Rome.

The tomb is one of great merit, following, on a small scale, the method adopted by Pollaiuolo in that of

[1] He must not be confounded with Christopher Urwick, Almoner to Henry VII.

Sixtus IV.—namely, a recumbent figure lying on the surface of a slightly raised platform. The strong modelling of the features and form seem to point to an artist who had taken his inspiration from Pollaiuolo. It has been attributed to Michele Marini, on which point see p. 147. It has been, in spite of its late date, included here on that account.

S. Tommaso in Formis.—Portal by Maestro Jacopo di Lorenzo (Magister Jacobus Laurentii), who also did the portal of Sta. Saba and two columns remaining from a set of nineteen in S. Alessio and the ambones of Araceli (see table of Cosmatesque Masters, p. 24).

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[1] The names of Ciumere, Corbolino, Rainaldo da Bologna, and Francesco da Ancona, are said to occur in a notice by Grimaldi in reference to Codex Barberini XXIX., cited by Paolo Giordani. The latter author names the artists in question as amongst the workers on the ciborium of Sixtus IV., whose fragments are in the Grotte Vaticane. The Codex, when examined, did not reveal the names in question. Giordani has found them in the manuscript of a deceased author, apparently copied from an original source. They are given here with that reserve.

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